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REMAINS
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13 Tell London of her Stewes
and cytyzens of vsury
and though it be no enuious
tell courtizans of lechery
and if they do rephye
thy best deserue the lye

14 So when thou hast (as I
comanded the) done blabbing
although to giue the lye
deserues no lesse then stabbing
Stab at the he y will
no stab thy soule ~~can~~ can kill.

Wa: Raleigh.

Go Echo of the minde
a carkes truth protest
make answer y rude Rawly
no Stomack can digest
for why the liss discent
is over bafe to tell
to vs it came from Italy
to them it came from well
what reason proues. confesse,
what slander faith. denye
Let no vnt ruth wth thyngh passe
but neber giue the lye.
confesse in glittering court
all ar not goulds that shine,
yet say our pearle, & much fine gould
grows in y Princess minde.
confesse y many leaues
do ouergrowe the grounde
yet say wth in the field of God
good corne is to be founde.
confesse som indge ouerst.
the widowers right delay
yet say there ar some Samuels
that neber say her nay

THE
DR. FARMER CHETHAM MS.

BEING A
COMMONPLACE-BOOK IN THE CHETHAM LIBRARY,
MANCHESTER.

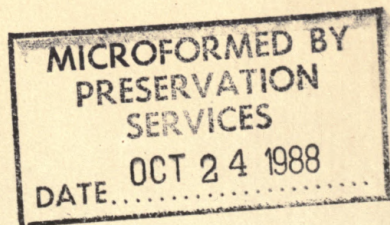
TEMP.
ELIZABETH, JAMES I. AND CHARLES I.

CONSISTING OF VERSE AND PROSE, MOSTLY
HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES, BY
THE REV. ALEXANDER B. GROSART,
ST. GEORGE'S, BLACKBURN, LANCASHIRE.

PART I.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LXXIII.





PRINTED BY CHARLES SIMMS,
MANCHESTER.

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INTRODUCTION.

EVERY Searcher into the treasures of our early Literature is familiar with the Manuscript Commonplace-Books of the sixteenth to the seventeenth century (say 1580-1680); but I am not aware that a single example has hitherto been published, or even printed privately. Quotations and Selections from them abound, but no COMPLETE SPECIMEN seems to have been put to press. It must be conceded that in many cases their contents are sufficiently "commonplace" (in its deteriorated sense) to justify the usual name given to them. But there are happily brilliant exceptions; and I shall be disappointed if any differ from me in regarding the present Chetham MS. as one of these. It is somewhat singular too, that although in the original Prospectus of the Chetham Society it was stated, as an intended feature of its printing and reprinting, that MSS. in the Chetham Library should be given, ours is the first redemption of the promise — not we hope the last, for there are others of rare value and interest in the Library.

I have designated our volume as *The Dr. Farmer*

Chetham MS., inasmuch as it is known to have been purchased—along with others—at his celebrated sale (in the catalogue of which it occurs); and I have been careful to prefix "*Dr.*," lest as "*The Farmer MS.*" simply, some innocent agricultural readers might be turning to it in repetition of the blunder of a Society that may be left nameless, in ordering one hundred copies of the Edgeworth treatise on Irish — "Bulls."

Who placed this MS. in the Chetham Library, and when it was acquired, have not been transmitted. This holds of many Public Libraries as well as the CHETHAM in the matter of (often) their rarest and richest possessions. Possession is their one title of ownership.

As is usual, this MS. consists of different handwritings—and not a little of it troublesomely intricate and contracted. The opening article, viz. "The Arraignment of the Earles of Essex and Southampton in Westminster Hall on Thursdaye y^e xix. of Februarie 1600," as we shall find immediately, bears internal evidences of having been written by a contemporary and spectator (if no more) of the Trial, while the "Declaracon of the Comons House of Parliam^t"—the last dated piece—belongs to 1621. Thus the closing years of ELIZABETH (1600–3), and nearly the whole of the reign of JAMES I. are covered by our MS. I have placed the name of CHARLES I. also on the title-page, because a number of the articles appear to me to have been copied in the opening years (at latest) of his reign—although in this, others may come to a different conclusion.

Turning now to the several contents of this Common-place-Book, the just-named "Arraignment" at once arrests attention. Comparing it with the narratives in the *State-Trials* (vol. i. pp. 198-210, ed. 1776, folio) there are touches that assure us the Writer "*saw and heard*" all he tells. Even the heading is noticeable, as supplying "*Thursdaye*" in addition to 19th February, and there are incidental and unstudied personal words, as these: "In w^{ch} Chaire sat the Lo. Tresurer Lo. Stewarde [Buckhurst] for y^t tyme: who came into the Hall wth 7 Seargeantes at Armes, the kinge of herraldes bearinge before him a longe white rodd w^{ch} I observed sometymes to be held by a kinge of herraldes and sometyme by a gentleman vsher" (p. 1, ll. 8-12); and so in notices of the attitudes, looks and the like, of the illustrious Prisoners—not found in the *State-Trials* or *Lives*. The same remark applies to Letters and Papers of RALEIGH and BACON herein given. Though already in part printed, they contain better readings than those extant, *e.g.* in BACON'S Letter to LORD HENRY HOWARD (pp. 51-2), in SPEDDING'S *Bacon* (vol. ix.=Life, vol. ii. pp. 161-2), a mistake of "best" for "bytter," makes nonsense of a pathetic phrase; and "fruits" is mis-read for "sweetes"—the latter being more fitting with "bytter." Again, for "in a *lewde* forge" is mis-read "in London's forge," and "an" is mis-dropped before "opinion." Thus is it throughout, over and above that our MS. furnishes the exact orthography of the original holographs. I have not the shadow of wish to undervalue the painstaking of either

SPEEDING'S *Bacon* or EDWARDS' *Life of Raleigh*; but collation satisfies me that in our Chetham MS. we have a more faithful text in historically and biographically all-important Letters and Papers. Apart from our wish to present the MS. in completeness and integrity, these corrections of long-continued errors in the texts of such few articles as have been previously printed, would have decided us to re-give them. As it is, the Student will find it rewarding to compare these Letters and Papers and others (*e.g.* Speech of RICHARD MARTIN to James I., and following parliamentary Papers) as now first printed from the Chetham MS. with the same in the books named and elsewhere. It is abundantly plain that our Common-place-Book Writer was nicely true to whatever MS. was before him. Hence the Letter of ELIZABETH (pp. 43-4)—of "My LADYE RICH to y^e QUEENE" (pp. 45-7)—of "My Lo. MOUNTIOYE to the EARLE OF ESSEX" (pp. 49-50), where already printed, have the same characteristics with those of the BACON and RALEIGH Letters and Papers.

But the worth of our MS. lies mainly in its VERSE. The jewel of all is the signed version of RALEIGH'S

"Go, foule, the bodie's gueft,"

and the acrid "Answer" to it which introduces Raleigh's name. Prefixed to our title-page are fac-similes in photolithograph of portions of these two poems. To Dr. JOHN HANNAH, Vicar of Brighton, belongs the praise of having been the first to call attention to our MS., and specifically to these proofs of the Raleigh authorship of

a somewhat memorable Poem.* In confirmation of MALONE's date of 1595, I have to state that in the Haslewood-Kingsborough MS., entitled by the former Antiquary and Bibliographer (when he bound together Lord Kingsborough's collections) *Records of the Muse*, a copy therein is inscribed contemporaneously "finis 1595."†

Next in value — if value be the word — to Raleigh's, is the set of "Gullinge Sonnets" copied as by J. D. and Mr. Dauyes, *i.e.* (afterwards) Sir John Davies — whose most marked turns of thought and epithet are readily discerned in them. I rejoice to have this opportunity of adding to the (relatively) scanty Verse of so truly masterful a man and poet. I somehow overlooked them when editing my edition of his Poetry. Granted — they don't present him at his best nor in his best vein; but as being his they will be prized. Moreover these Sonnets bear on the face of them that they were intended to be satirical imitations or rather parodies of contemporary Sonnet Writers. Perhaps we shall not err in assigning the main references to *Zepheria* — recently reprinted by the Spenser Society — in the amusing ridicule of a peculiarity in its Sonnets, of using technical legal terms in matters of love. Other of

* See Dr. HANNAH's admirable paper on the *Elizabethan Sacred Poetry*, in the *British Critic*, 1842, pp. 325-66; also his collection of the *Poems of Raleigh and Wotton* (1845), which has by no means been displaced by his *Courtly Poets* (1870). As more readily accessible I refer to the *Courtly Poets* (pp. 23-6, and pp. 220-22) for full details on these Poems.

† See present volume, pp. 66-7, for a very interesting Poem from these MSS.

these "Gullinge" Sonnets, the Student of our poetic literature will readily appropriate to the respective Authors intended to be hit. All this is the more curious in that Dr. Donne in his second Satire seems to point to these very Sonnets — taking them for serious not sarcastical. Thus :

——— " a Lawyer, w^{ch} was alas of late
But a scarce poet ; iollyer of that State
Then are new benefict Ministers, hee throwes
Like nets or lime-twigs, wheresoe're he goes,
His title of Barrister on euery wench,
And woos in language of the pleas and bench." *

Could Donne have read the "Gullinge" Sonnets in MS. and conceived that they glanced at his love-sonnets in the *Rhapsody* ?

JOHN HOSKINS is more fully represented in our MS. than elsewhere. His "Dreams" and "Melancholy" (pp. 85-7) are not without vivid touches. His epitaph-epigrams are not of intrinsic worth, though smart.

With reference to the lines assigned to Sir Philip Sidney "lying in his death-bed," I have discovered since our Note (p. 98) an additional item against the Sidney authorship, viz. that the identical Lines form part of the celebration of the second wife of WILLIAM CRASHAW, father of *the* Crashaw, in *The Honour of Vertue* (1620).†

* See our edition of Donne, vol. i. p. 16.

† See in its place in our edition of Sir Philip Sidney's Poems in Fuller Worthies' Library — being prepared ; also in our Essay on *The Life and Writings of Richard Crashaw* (vol. ii.), in our edition of his Works.

Our MS. is somehow faulty in its poems from Dr. DONNE—the readings being bad repeatedly; but we are thankful for the signature “Th. Scotte” to the Lines entitled “A Wife,” which have been assigned to him—as various others erroneously—from 1669 edition of his Poems. SIR JOHN ROE of the Latin Epitaph (p. 162) was author of the Verse-Letter “January 6. 1603” to BEN JONSON,* and the poem “Deare Love continue nice and chaste”—similarly mis-ascribed to Dr. DONNE. He was son of Sir Thomas Roe, an eminent merchant of London, according to Gifford (but see our edition of Donne, vol. ii. pp. 88-9).

Looking at the lines (p. 121) it may be worth-while to add here that they are levelled at the infamous Countess of Somerset, who was concerned in Overbury's murder. “Canterbury” refers to Archbishop Abbot who was opposed to the divorce from the Earl of Essex, and Winchester and Ely to Bishops Bilson and Andrewes who (alas!) promoted it.

* As a not at all rare instance of the perfunctory way in which even a Poet of the genius of Donne is criticised, it may be worth while here to invite the reader to turn to Lieut.-Colonel Cunningham's edition of *Ben Jonson*, vol. iii. p. 471: “With regard to ‘not keeping of accent’ read, or try to read, Donne's Lines to Ben Jonson 6 Jan. 1603.” Here we find the erudite editor selecting this verse-Epistle to BEN JONSON as a crucial example of Donne's unrhythmical ear, while he did not write a syllable of it, as proved in the conversation with Drummond in the same volume! How preposterous that any man should so hastily read a Poet as actually to take for text of a wretched criticism a poem not by that author but by another. And yet Lieut.-Colonel Cunningham merits our thanks for his work on Marlowe, Massinger and Ben Jonson.

For an amusing account of Dr. Butler, the great physician and humourist, the Reader will do well to turn to Aubrey's *Lives* (vol. ii. part i. pp. 265-70) as illustrative of his Epitaph on our page 199. Among the MSS. of Downing College (Cambridge) are Letters of this celebrity. One is curiously endorsed, "A Letter written by Mr. Butler, the famous phizitian of Cambridge, to Paull Thompson, being in Cambridge Castle for clipping of Gould." It is very abusive, beginning thus : "Your giddie headed phantastique fiddling fingers and scribblinge pen, directed by the quicke motion of your quicksilver brayne." A second Letter from the same to the same, after upbraiding him with hypocrisy, ends : "Wright [*sic*] no more, for I am weary." Then follows "The Motto upon Senior Cornuto" — "Dæmon linguebat, tunc monachus[monachus tunc] etc. [hitherto generally mis-quoted, as *Ægrotat dæmon*, etc.]"

"The Divell was sicke, then hee a monke would be ;
The Divell was well againe, the Divell a monke was hee."

(See *Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS.*, p. 325, 1872.)

In our collection of the Writings of Sir EDWARD DYER in the Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library (vol. iv.), we show that the long Elegy for Sidney belongs to NICHOLAS BRETON not DYER. In the Oxford Rawlinson MS., which is our great authority for Dyer's Verse, it is so assigned ; and, sooth-to-say, is worthy neither of Dyer nor Breton — being empty, tedious and in every respect poor, except in certain quaint allusions to the mourning-observances for the "pure Knight." *

* See our collection of Dyer as above ; Postscript, pp. 63-4.

Anything else requiring to be said will be found in relative Notes.

It only remains to add that our endeavour has been to reproduce the MS. in integrity throughout, and in the precise order of the original. We have striven to be faithful to the frequently difficult and varying MS.; and yet a revision compels us to note here certain different readings that probably give more exactly the places:—
 p. 6, l. 9, fortune for torture; l. 13, put for sent: p. 9, l. 14, pleaded for persuaded; l. 16, adviser for advises; l. 29, sheete for streete: p. 11, l. 13, arrest for access: p. 31, l. 3, thinges for though: p. 36, l. 20, forme for sonne: p. 44, l. 4, hopeth for helpeth: p. 49, l. 10, old for else: p. 85, l. 7, nowe for none: p. 87, l. 6, cleaue of for leave of [off]: p. 107, l. 16, faire for face: p. 129, l. 14, wade ambitious for made ambitions: p. 134, last line, rouncuall for rouncivall: p. 172, l. 6, Tell for Lett: p. 179, l. 7, & evere since for Twere sinne; l. 12, a line omitted, 'Which I wante arte and iudgement to pursue': p. 184, l. 5 (from bottom), ran for cam: p. 204, l. 2, compell for counsell; l. 5, serve for showe; l. 10, since for sound; l. 12, myne for mynde: p. 209, l. 12 (from bottom), not without for noe wisdom; l. 7 (*ib.*), avoid for avow: p. 212, marginal note, 'such' 'this' for Rich. Street his complices: p. 217, l. 1, David's for daines: p. 220, (bottom line but one), God for Soe. Our first readings of nearly all these yield sufficient if occasionally obscure meanings; but we request these later to be substituted. We must also ask the Student to correct the Errata et

Corrigenda furnished on our last page 'in all charity,' seeing this is a first putting to press of a crabbed handwriting. Our MS. is a small quarto, and exclusive of blank pages is (modernly) paged from 1 to 193. It has usually been cited as MS. 8012, that being its number in the printed Catalogue of the Chetham Library.

Altogether I feel it to be a privilege to have been invited to edit this Manuscript for the Chetham Society. Our few introductory sentences have indicated enough to prepare the reader for intrinsic and substantial worth, not a merely antiquarian curiosity. Great names are brought up by our MS., and as OLIVER GOLDSMITH puts it, "There is a pleasure arising from the very bagatelles of men renowned for their knowledge and genius; and we receive with veneration those pieces, after they are dead, which would lessen them in our estimation while living: sensible that we shall enjoy them no more, we treasure up, as precious relics, every saying and word that has escaped them; but their writings of every kind we deem inestimable."

I must in conclusion offer my heart-felt thanks to the book-wise and heart-whole President of the Chetham Society — JAMES CROSSLEY, Esq. — for his always ready aid in deciphering words which puzzled my younger eyes.

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

PARK VIEW,
Blackburn, Lancashire.

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* Inadvertently written in MS. and misprinted "par" for "per." G.

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*The Arraignment of the Earles of Effex and
Southampton in Westminster hall on Thurs-
daye y^e xix. of Februarie 1600.*

THE place was (as abovesaid) in Westminster hall in a Courte made of purpofe, square and fpacious, the heade towarde the Kinge's Bench: vppon the fides of the Square, were made feates for the Lordes the Tryers to fitt above, and a lower feate for the Judges; at the upper ende of the fquare was onely one feate, w^{ch} was a Chayre, and a footeftoole vnder a cloth of Eftate, and noe Seate nearer it then the vpper ende of the twoe fides of the Square: In w^{ch} Chaire fat the Lo. Trefurer Lo. Stewarde Backhurft. for y^t tyme: who came into the Hall wth 7 Seargeantes at Armes, the kinge of herraldes bearinge before him a longe white rodd w^{ch} I obferved fometyes to be held by a kinge of herraldes and fometye by a gentleman vsher. There attended y^t day 4 gentlemen Vffhers in y^e Courte at the foote of the Lo. Steward: there was cutt into the table a place for the Clearke of the Crowne to fitt in, And at the lower ende of the Square towards the hall doore satt on lowe feates the Queene's Counfel and directlie at their backe, a place of a conveniente bignes for the 2 Earles rayled in to fave them from the thronge. The Lo. and Judges beinge fett, about 9 of the clocke the Prifoners came, firft the Earle of Effex, led by the Lo. Conftable of the Towre, the Lo. Tho. Howard, attend[ed] by divers gentlemen of quality and the Axe borne before them by the gent Porter of the Towre, wth the edge from him, and after him came the Earle

of South'ton led by the Leiftenente of the Towre Sr Jo. Peigh-ton and others wth him, and p[']fentlye p[']clamacon was made by a Sergeante at Armes to keepe filence and heare the Queene's Comiffion redd: then the Clarke of the Crowne redd the Comiffion: and in that tyme the Earle of Effex spake softlie twice or thrice to the E. of South'ton. The writt beinge returned, the Lo. Constable was called to bringe forth the Prifoners, Robte E. of Effex & Henrye .E. of South'ton, w^{ch} done the Lo. Constable tooke his place amonge the Barons as a tryer. Then proclamacon was made to retorne the names of the Peeres fūmōned vpon the triall, then the peeres were called in order as followeth: ffirst Th'erles of Oxenford, of Shrewsebury, of Darbye, of Cumberland, of Worcester, of Suffex, of Hertford, of Lincolne and of Nottingham: The Lo. Vicount Bindon, the Lo. de La Ware, Lo. Morley, Lo. Cobham, Lo. Stafford, Lo. Graye, Lo. Lumley, Lo. Hunfdon, Lo. Riche, Lo. Darcie of Chich: Lo. Chandofs, Lo. Windfore, Lo. S^t John of Bletfoe, Lo. Burleigh, Lo. Compton and Lo. Howard of Wallden. A Question was moved to the Judge by the E. of Effex, whether (as in lyke cafes as it was allowed by men of private condicon) they might challenge any of there Peeres, affirminge y^t though for his p[']te he were verie indifferent, yet p[']haps the E. that stooode by him, might make iuste challenge to some of them. The Judges said directlie y^t the lawe did allowe them noe challenge of their Peeres. The Judges that satt were the Lo. Cheife Justice of England, the Cheife Justice of the Comōn Plees, the Lo. cheife Barron, Justice Gawdye, Justice Ffenner, Justice Walmysley, Baron Clarke and Justice Kyngesmyle: Allfo 2 Sergeantes, M^r Heale and M^r Harris. The Queene's Counsell were M^r Sergeant Yelverton, M^r Cooke, Attorney generall, M^r flemynge sollicito^r and M^r Bacon: Then said the Clerke of the Crowne, Robte E. of Effex, hold vp thy hande, w^{ch} he did of a greate heighte, sayinge he had done it to better p[']pose: likewise the E. of South'ton held vp his (so did they) both times, beinge joyntlie indighted by 2 severall Endightm^{tes}: The cheife pointes

E. Effex.

E. Effex.

The cheife
pointes of th^e
endightm^{ts}

were, the rebelling in Effex house, the seekinge to deprive her matie of lyfe and gou'ment, to sett the Crowne vppon his owne heade, the Consultacon and resolucon to goe to White hall to fu[r]pprize her matie; the imprisoninge the Lo. of the Counsell and others sent from her Matie to disswade their traytore purpofs, the p'swadinge the Londoners to ioyn wth them and the killinge the Queene's subiectes. Beinge demaunded guyltie or not guilty they both answered not guyltie and for tryall put themselves vpon god and there peeres: I have (quoth the E. of Effex) a E. Effex. true harte to her Matie and my cuntrye and have done nothinge but that w^{ch} by the Lawe of nature and the necessitie of my case I was inforced vnto; Then the Lo. Steward gave the prisoners Lo. Steward. to vnderstand that howsoever their offences were notorious, yet her matie was contented to allow them a lawfull and an honorable tryall: and libertie to speake for themselves. Th'earle of Effex while the Enditem^{tes} were readinge smiled often and lifted vp his eyes to heavne and after they were redd p'tested him selfe a trew harted subiect to her matie and called god to witnes before Whome (he said) he looked shortelie to appeare. Then Mr Seriant Yellverton began to the Lo. Steward (givinge him the tytle of Yellverton. his grace) to open the matter, makinge firste repeticon of the substance of th'enditem^{tes}: Then vrged the pointes of imprisoninge the Lordes at Effex house in w^{ch} doinge y^t appeared they neither respected the Clemencie of her matie that sente them, the p'fonns of those that came, nor their Errand, w^{ch} was to vnderstand their greifes and to make sinceare report of them to her matie and to admonishe the dissolvinge of the vnruley companye there Congregated: All w^{ch} notwithstandinge the[y] persisted in their Rebellious purpofes And went into London, leavinge the Lo. in the custodye of Sr John Davies, ffraunces Tresham & Owen Sallisburie, wth charge that if either any shold offer to enlarge them or that the E. of Effex shold miscarrie in the Cittye then to kyll them. When they came into the Cittye theye there soughte helpe to attempte the Courte and failinge there retorned againe to Effex house, there fortifyinge againste

her mate's knowne officers of her Armye, wherein he affirmed they comitted manifeste treason: ffor (sayth he) yf a man intend the deathe of a kinge beinge the heade of the comon welthe wthout w^{ch} the members cannot live, it is Treason: they not onlye intended but allso acted so far forth as was in there powre vz: By assemblinge a powre and encitinge the Subiectes to Rebell, he compared this facte of the E. of Essex to that of CATALINE in Roome. CATALINE tooke the most sedicous, the Earle tooke Atheist, Papiste, men reconcyed to the Pope, men discontented and of dissolute behavio^r: the difference was onelye this that CATALYNE was followed of the Romaines, but noe Londoners followed the Earle: Then he obiected to the Earle the Queene's favo^r towards him; noe man advanced younger to place in Counsell nor to more dignities, all w^{ch} the Earle abused, [and did] make his cheife companions of sword men, and affectinge popularitie declared the infacietie of Ambition, w^{ch} never cesseth till it attayne as highe as it can see, Comparinge it to the Crocodile that is said to growe as longe as he liveth: And these treasons beinge apparent and knowne to manie of the Peeres, havinge bene some of them her Ma^{te}'s Ministers for suppressinge the Rebellion, he wondred that the Earles wold pleade not guiltie. Besides there treasons howsoever sodenlye attempted, were not so suddainly contrived, But were of a more auncient date as shold be p'ved. Then M^r Attornye began to this effect, That for the better informacon of the Lordes, he wold deliver vnto them FITZHERBARTES'S reporte, w^{ch} was that the verie thoughte was Treason, but bicause the thoughtes were onely knowne to god, therefore it is not p'mitted to be adiaged, till they appeare by some discou'ie either by word, wrytinge or acte, And further declared that whosoever goeth aboute into open Rebellion, is (in the construcion of the Lawe) guyltie of determing the deathe and destruction of the Prince. Th'earle (sayth he) hathe done both, for he hath raised a power in a setled government w^{ch} the lawe intendes to be a purpose to destroye the kinge, for he y^t abuseth the gou'm^t hates the Governor. The contynuinge

Attorney.

of his power assembled at Essex house being comaunded to disperse them, is playne Treason. Agayne (saith Mr Attorney) to rayse force to take a Towne, forte or place of defence is Treason: the E. of Essex raised a force not to take a small Towne but the verie Cittie of London: not a slender fforte but y^e Towre, nor there to rest, but to attempt the sacred Pallace of the Prince, killinge her subiectes after a most disloyall maner. What shold I say more, *Res ipsa loquitur*. But what answeres my Lo. of Essex? that the Lawe of nature comaundes and he was bound to his owne defence. But I will shewe that he transgressed the Lawes both of God & Nature and of reason's. Consider first the Quallitie of the offence, 2 the manner 3 the p'sons by whome 4 the p'sons against whome it was comitted, and they shall be leste wthout excuse. And first let me tell them, that Treason for satisfacon of a passion in Nature is noe excuse to Treason. All offences gainst God and nature, are peccata clemantia peccata Sanguinis: Rebellion worst of all confoundes all Nature, God and reasons. This Treason is for y^e quallitie p'mediate and aymed at the heade, even of her Matie: ffor the manno^r howe foddaine soever yet it is highe Treason: ffor foddaine Treason is not les daungero^s then y^t w^{ch} is of longer growth. But my Lo. yo^r offence was past an imaginerie offence, it was Armata iniquitas; neither was it of that foddaines as yo^u wold have it beleaved, ffor yo^u wore a black bag about yo^r necke conteyninge a Catalogue of the names of such as were mene of yo^r number: a black bagg was meetest for such a black cause: But my Lo. there lyes a greate burthen vppon yo^r Lo^p for drawinge so many worthy gent. into so desp'ate and detestable a busines. ffor the p'sons by whome thes Treasons were comitted, they received there first breath vnder her matie's gou'nm^t: Th'earldome of Essex given to his father by her matie; howe she hath loaden this man wth hono^{rs}, offices and dignities, the world can testifie (there he recyted all his offices): above all her matie's favo^{res} made him greate, neither was it fruitles to his estate: for I am able to p've and make good accompte that her ma^{te}'s giuftes to him

amounted to 300 thousand poundes. Allso the Earle of South: received diuers favo^{res} from her ma^{tie}, thought for his misde-meano^{res} it pleaseth her to thinke worfe of him. The p^{son} against whome thes treasons were intended was against her sacred ma^{tie}, against the Relligion w^{ch} her highenes sincerely p^{fe}sseth at home and p^{te}cteth in other provinces: and her exercise of Justice comixed wth admirable mercy, w^{ch} is aparant in this, that in the examinacon of all the p^{sons} imp^{son}ed for this facte, none were rackte nor offer of fortune made vnto them. And an other thinge materiall to be noted comes into my mynde, no two of the examinantes spake together & yet they all agree in y^e substance of theire tales. Then he declared the lenitye of the first p^{ceedinge} vz: that the Lo^{es} of the Counsell put vnto them 2 Counsellor^{es} of State to summon him; the reason because there was a Roytous company assembled, The intent to admonish him, he cam[e] not, was forborne till the next day y^t a guilty conscience counselled him to put himselfe into strengthe: ffor there were forces expected from Wales, y^e discou^{ie} whereof th^e earle nowe doubted & Consultacon was had amongst them 3 monthes before whether was best, first to surprize the Tower and Court, or to p^{ve} there freindes in London. Allso at Drewrie house, it was resolved vppon 4 daies before theie brake owte into open rebellion y^t to goe to y^e Courte was y^e best: then was allotted to eurie one his severall place of charge, S^r Christopher Blunt, a reconcyled Papist, to haue charge of the vtter gate, S^r John Davies the Hall, a Papist likewise & S^r Charles Davers the presence, a secret Papist (as is confessed), Th^e erle of Effex the privye Chamber: Should the Court have bene thus guarded, oh (faith) S^r Christopher Blunt, what fearefull humo^{er} shall we fynde them in at Courte when we surprize them. Well what shold be the end of y^e surprize? forfoothe to call a p^{li}ament. A bloody parliam^t wold that haue bene when yo^r Lo^p that nowe standeth all in black, shold haue worne a bloody Robe. But my hope is y^t he shalbe Robte the laste Earle of his house that wold have bene Robte the first K^{inge} of this land. Well what did he? he

affembles a greate number of Barons, Earles and gent. of Quallitie, yet her matie held gracous and sent vnto him favo^r vz. the Lo. Keep: th'earle of Worcester, the Comptroller and the Lo. Cheife Justice, two of them of his owne blood, th'other, men that never malliced him, as himfelfe will (I thinke) confes. Thes charged him vpon his alledgiaunce, to lay downe his Armes and to difolve his troupe. Nowe marke the fury of a rebellious company, They cried owte kill them, kill them, we shall have the lefs to doe, they but abuse and goe aboute to betraye yo^u: here you see Treason in the houle: before he went owte he was a Trayto^r: when he came into the Citty whatt did he? even followed the rules of Treason: Treason durst never looke directlye vppon a Prince, for the Matie of godes annoynted doth ever cast forth such beames as daunteth the eye of disloyaltie and therefore he p'tendes a cause of stirringe the State, Or (faith he) at firste entraunce I shold haue bene murthered by my Lo. Cobham and S^r Walter Raleigh but when he was got^t w^hin them & began to speake nearer to them, then an other cause was invented, vz. y^t the Kingdome of England sholde be fould to the INFANTA of Spayne: In the end fyndinge in London truer hartes then he expected, he resolved vppon his retorne, what to doe? to burne some pap^r least they shold hurte his freindes: Then M^r Attorney besoughte the Lo. Howard y^t certaine deposicons might be redd for prooffe of thes matters. Th'earle replied y^t there was E. Effex. oddes betweene the memorie and Oratorie of the QUEENE'S counsell and theires that were prisoners, and that it belonged to the Q. counsell to lay all possible as^pp^osions vppon those at that Barr. And desired the Peeres to consider of their woordes accordinglie. Then was p'duced the examinacon of one Witherington Witherington a borderer of Wales, that the Saterdaie before he tould th'erle of Rutland that he wondred at the Course he held wth y^e State. Th'erle of Effex tooke some excepcon to him in respecte E. Effex. he was not p'sent, but (as he said) p'tested the sinceritye of his Relligion: And for the threatens vsed to the Lordes, he never hard them, the houle beinge so full of noyse that one could not

heare an other speake: some cryed one thinge and some another, as everie p'ticular humour ledd them. But for his owne p'te he never ment any thinge towarde them, but y^t w^{ch} was loyall, shuitable and affectionate: ffor S^r John Davyes he p'tested deeply he never knewe him not to be a papist, he came orderly to prayers in his house, neither observed he in him any difference of his drefs. The charge of his house when he wente owte he lefte wth S^r Gellie Marwick, who had once beene his Steward and nowe was his ffreind & that w^{ch} he did he was forced vnto in his owne iuste defence, for he understoode, not by a naked surmise but by found adu'tisem^t that his private Enemyes had levied force and ment to surprize him in his house: he allso p'tested deeplie the sincerity of his harte towarde her Ma^{tie} and his Countrey and wished that all disloyall hartes mighte haue the reward dew vnto them. Then the Lo. Admirall desired the Lo. Cheife Justice to declare his knowledge of what passed in Effex house at his beinge there wth the rest: whereuppon he was sworne and then spake to this effecte, That they were sent to them to drawe them to a better course and to informe trulye at Courte, the matters whereat they tooke offence. They required of th'erle of Effex to know his greifes, wth p'mise to reporte them sincearlie. My Lo. (sayth he) began to tell us that one was touchinge th'erle of South: in whiche instant one at my back, cryed owte kyll them, kill them: he said he knewe him not yf he sawe him agayne, but he was fuer he had on a white Sattin doblett. That they desired private conference, where to th'erle answered that he wold come to them anon. But at the dore were set Musket-eres to garde the place, and none was suffered to goe owte from them to reporte in what plight they were. The E. of Effex replied againe that he was far from any daungerous thought towards his Lo^p or any of the rest wth him, whome he had before tyme esteemed as his speciall freindes. he sawe indeede that the comaundm^t of Allegiaunce could not p'tecte the E. of South: from the late iniurye done him by my Lo. Greye, and therefore resolved to stand vppon his guard, havinge y^e same adu'tisem^t

Lo. Admirall.

Lo. Cheife
Justice.

E. Effex.

on the Saterday night y^t his private enemyes were in armes against him & the same seconded on the Sodaye morninge by p^fsons worthy the beleevinge, but (quoth he) for any intent of treason towarde her Ma^{tie} or the State, I am cleare and I can avowe asmuch for the rest there p^fsent. But my Lo. Steward and the rest of yo^r Lop^s, I wold not that yo^u shold mistake me in this, as if I went aboute to faue my Lyfe: no, I despise it and am at peace wth god and have forgott the world, beinge more desirous to dye then to live. That w^{ch} I speake is rather in satisfacon of this nobleman that standeth by me and the rest that are engaged wth me, whose hartes are purely affected and whose bodyes are able to serve their sou'aigne and their countrye. But to confirme in me the doubte of beinge f^rprised in my house, S^r Walter Raleigh pleaded S^r fferdinando Gorges to leave vs or he was lost, tould him that he came owte of a sinkinge ship. And the adviser on Saturday night and Sunday morninge, came not from light and vayne reportes but from an honorable adu'tisem^t. But my Lordes (qth he) I haue had very uniuist courses vsed against me, Papists foughte owte to accuse, as Tho. Blunt, and one Sudall a Preiste, Allsoe Bales a Scrivener confessed to me and others that he counterfeited my hand twelve tymes. What measure might I then expect from such begininge?

To that M^r Attorney spake that it was true y^t Bales was hired Attorney. therevnto by a f^rvant of th'earles, one John Danyell to th'intent that if afterwarde the E. owne hand were p^duced to accuse him he mighte have somewhat to allege for him selfe. Heere the Lo. Lo: Greye. Greye stoode vp and p^tested he did not nowe mallice the E. of South: ffor he delighted not to presse an abiecte ffortune. That w^{ch} he offered him in the sheete was in respect of a newe iniurye w^{ch} (qth the E. of South:) was never ment yo^u. The Lo. Steward comaunded an ende of that speeche, tendinge but to private expostulacon. Then was redd the deposicon of S^r fferdinando Gorges to this effect, viz. that he received a l're from the E. in January last, either to come vp to London or to meete in some place the 2 of ffebruary. At his cominge the E. told him he

floode vppon his guard, that he ment to trust no longer, but he
 resolved to defend himself from reſtrainte. Tould him further
 that he was confident in London, and liked not that the Lordes
 ſhould be his intr^{ceſſ}rs, allſoe that he resolved to call a Parliam^t
 havinge once gayned ſecure acceſs at Courte. That he had a
 ſtronger p^{'ty} in Wales, but firſt ment to try London. That he the
 ſayd S^r ffer.[dinando Gorges] came from his charge at Plymouth
 wthout leave, w^{ch} beinge knowne to S^r Walter Raleigh his kinfman
 and friend, S^r Walter ſent for him to come ſpeake wth him: they
 appointed to meete vppon the water on Sunday morninge, the
 verie day that the E. of Effex began to ſtirr. And there
 meetinge, S^r Wa. Ra: told him that he wiſhed him to dep^{'te} the
 towne p^{'ſently}, or otherwiſe he wold be layde in the fleete,
 whereto he replied, tuſh S^r Wa. this is not a tyme of goinge to the
 fleete, gett yo^u backe to the Courte and that wth ſpeede, for yo^u
 are lyke to haue a bloody day of y^t, wherevpon S^r Walter againe
 adviſed him to come forth of that company. And then S^r fferd.
 Gorges ſhoved of the Boate wherein S^r Wa. Ra: was and bad him
 hye him there, w^{ch} he did p^{'ceavinge} a boate to come off[f] at
 Effex houſe ſtayres, wherein were 3 or 4 of the E. of Effex
 f^{'vantes}, with peeres who had in charge either to take or kill S^r
 Wa. Ra: vppon the water. ffor the firſt p^{'te} of their meetinge
 vppon the water S^r Wa. Ra: was depoſed in Courte to the ſame
 effecte. The E. of Effex deſired to heare S^r fferd. Gorges face to
 face, wherevppon he was ſent for, and there delivered as much,
 addinge further that he deſired the E. of Effex at his retorne, to
 goe and ſubmitt himſelf; whereat the E. excepted wth this
 ſpeeche or to the like effecte. S^r fferd. Gorges I wiſh yo^u ſhould
 ſpeake any thinge that ſhould do yo^r ſelf good, but remember
 that yo^u are a gent. and that yo^r reputacon oughte to be deare
 vnto yo^u. I pray yo^u anſwere, did yo^u adviſe me to ceaſe my
 enterpriſe? My Lo. (qth he) I thinke I did. Nay (quoth E.) it is
 now not tyme to anſwere vppon thinkinge, did yo^u indeede ſo
 counſell me? he answered I did. The E. pauſing as it were in a
 wonder replied thus. Well, let his lyfe and my death witnes

Sr. Wa. Ra.
 depoſed.
 Sr Ferd.
 Gorges *viva*
voce.

E. Effex.

howe truely he speakes. Then was agayne vrged the Consultation at Drewery house, at w^{ch} was p^rsent the E. of South: whereto the E. of South: replied wth p^rtestation of all loyaltie E. South: in his harte towarde her Mat^{ie}. And in that he had offended her, he was hartely sory, and did in all humblenes beseeche her p^rdon. But touchinge the consultation at Drewery house, many thinges were indeede p^rpounded but nothinge resolved, all beinge lefte in the ende to the E. of Effex himself. But (qth he) put the case as yo^u wold haue it, that it was aduised both to attempt the Courte and Towre att once, neither of the two was done: how can it then be made treason? It is true we did consult at Drewry house, about securinge the E. of Effex his arrest free from impeachm^t and that for noe other end, but to p^rstrate o^r selves at her mat^e's ffeete, humblie submitinge o^r selves to her m^{er}cye, and laying forth our greifes to her self, whereof we thought she had noe true informacon from others. this was the end of o^r meetinge, and not wth any treasonable thought of my p^rte. I take god to record, and (qth he) I desire the opinion of the Judges, whether one thinge consulted vpon and an other executed be Treason, ffor we talkte of goinge to the Courte, the Towre allso was talked vpon, but the counsell was reiected, and this yo^u will haue to be treason. ffor my p^rte I knewe nothinge in the morninge when I came to Effex house of o^r goinge into London. when I was in London I hard not the p^rclamacon, I was not neare by the lengthe of the streete. Let my Lo. Burleigh speake (I knowe him hon^orable) whether he sawe me in London or not. I never drewe my sword all the daye. I am charged to carry a pistoll: I had none when I went owte. when I came into London I sawe one havinge a pistoll. I desired it of him and had it. But it had never a stone nor cold it have hurte a flye. At my retorne into Effex house I did there what I could to hind^{er} the shootinge, and for that ende sent Capt. White about the house. ffrom this kinde of behavio^r can be gathered noe thoughtes of Treason, and therefore I beseech yo^u my Lordes, to censure me not accordinge to the letter of the

Lawe but as in yo^r trewe consciences yo^u are p^rswaded of me,
 And in that I was to[o] farr carryed wth love to my Lo. of Effex
 I confesse to haue offended, that before reherfed beinge the
 onely drift and scope of my purpose in this busines. Hereto
 Attorney. M^r Attorney replied y^t it was *palliata Conclusio*. Is this (qth he)
 not Treason to force the Queene in her owne house, to sett
 guardes at her gates in her Chambers and all p^rtes of house, to
 thinkent[?] that havinge her in yo^r power yo^u mighte doe what yo^u
 E. South: lifted. Good M^r Attorney (qth the E. of South:) let, let me aske
 yo^u what yo^u thinke in yo^r conscience, we wold haue done wth
 the Queene yf we had gayned the Courte. I p^rtest vppon my
 Attorney. soule and conscience (qth M^r Attorney) I do beleeeve she shold
 not have longe lived after she had bene in yo^r power. Note but
 the p^ridentes of former ages, how longe lived Rich. the 2. after
 he was surprised in the same manner. the p^retence was alike, for
 removinge of c^ertaine counsellor^{es}, but it shortly after cost him his
 lyfe. such is the vnquenchable thirst of Ambition, w^{ch} never
 can be satisfied so longe as any greatnes is left vnatched. but
 know this for certaine, that to make the Courte or Tower a
 E. South: defence for private enemyes is playne Treason. The E. of South:
 replied that the Towre was reiect^d as a matter ridiculous to be
 thought vppon: neither was it ment to fortifie at courte, but
 Judges. onely to cast them selves at her Ma^{te}'s feete. The Judges were
 required theire sev^rall opinions for the Question before p^rpounded
 by the E. of South: who argued it sev^rally, and agreed that it
 Lo. Admyrall was Treason. My Lo. Admyrall desired to be resolved whether
 the instructions for a consultacon to be had at Drewry house
 were under the E. of Effex owne hands: Then was p^rduced
 Sr Charles Davers Ex. and redd in Courte the examinacon of S^r Charles Davers to this
 effect, that the Earle of Effex deliberated before Christmas, to
 secure his acceffe to her Ma^{tie} from possibility of resistance, to
 posses himselfe of the Courte, the p^riect of the Earle of Effex,
 his owne hand, to surprise the Capt. of the guard, the Courte
 beinge taken to send to satisfye the Cittye, to call a p^rliamt, and
 to bringe his enemyes to an honorable tryall: That he wished

the E. to flye wth 2 or 3 gent. and for his owne goinge to the consultacon at Drewrie houle, he was drawne there vnto, by the love he bare to the E. of South: to whome he ought his lyfe. he confesseth that he advised to seize the halbertes in the Guarde Chamber, w^{ch} done they shold wth ease enoughe posses that place, beinge p^rswaded to fynde many indifferent havinge bene the E. of Effex his s^rvantes in tymes past. Then was red the Ex. of S^r Christ. Blunt, to this effect, At the first his wounde hindred him, but p^rmisid that when he was able to speake he wold tell all trewlye, And beinge then Ex. before my Lo. Admirall and M^r Secretarie, he confessed the p^riecke to be as hath bene before described. he affirmed that the E. of Effex had a purpose to alter the gou^rm^t, and in communicacon wth him, the E. said that he liked not that any man shold be troubled for Religion, That the E. sent Wiseman to his wife wth a letter of Complaint into the Countrey, requestinge him allso to come to London the xxth of Januarye accordinge to appointm^t. The E. of Effex answered, Sr Christ.
Blunt. yo^u p^rduce heere Ex. of wittnesses against me, they are in like state as I am, they speake like men desirous to live, they testifye against me. What reward doe they hope for? Lyfe. I wish that w^{ch} they speake may purchase that vnto them. ffor I never ment to Endaunger any of their lives, howsoever I speede this daye. it is to me a thinge indifferent. I am not in Love wth my Lyfe, nor have bene a longe tyme. I could haue bene contented to haue dyed in my houle when I was besett: But I thancke Allmightie God, that he hath reserved me to this daye's tryall: But I was driven to this hazard by those that have the Queene's care and doe abuse it, inforcinge againste me many vntruthes, w^{ch} knowinge I choose rather to hazard her Ma^{te}'s mercy: then to abide the daungerous courses that shold run against me. Beinge demaunded who were those p^rsonnes at w^{ch} he cheiflye aymed, he answered M^r Secretarie Cecill, the Lo. Cobh^m and S^r Walter^r Raleigh, against whome he had iust cause of exceptons, as wold haue diverted her Ma^{te}'s favor from them. ffor the matter of his goinge into London, he knewe not E. Effex

th'interp^rtacon of the fame, but his owne harte he knewe to be cleare of the leaſte ſtayne of diſloyaltie to his ſou'aigne. The

Lo. Cobham. Lo. Cobh^m aroſe and excuſed himſelf of any mallice to the E. and p^rteſted to have onely diſlyked his ambitious courſes, w^{ch} could not but breede daunger to the State, in w^{ch} reſpect he

Lo. Steward. ought to hind^{er} there growthe. The Lo. Steward cut off[f] his ſpeeche, affirmyng that the matter alledged by the E. was imp^rtinent, and willed them to p^rceede to the Judgm^t that was in hand. The E. of Effex not wthſtandinge replied that in his opinyon he was not alone, but he was fortified by the opinion of

E. Effex. honorable p^rſons. Then M^r Bacon ſpake to this effect: I expected not (qth he) that the matter of defence ſhould have bene alledged for excuſe, therefore I muſt allter my ſpeeche from that

Bacon. I entended. To Reb^l in Defence, is a matter not hard of; in caſe of Murder, defence is a good Plea, but in this caſe, to doe all that was done that daye, and then to goe abowte to blamich it, I cannot allowe: I ſpeake not nowe to ſimple men, I ſpeake to them that can drawe p^rſe owte of the nature of the thinges themſelves. It is knowne by bookes, by experience and by common talke, that noe Lawfull intendm^{tes} are bent directlie againſte the Prince, but there is a walteringe of gou^m^{tes} (as the phraſe is in Scotland). theſe goe noe way but by p^rticular Iniuries. My Lo^{rs}, I cannot reſemble yo^r p^rceedinges more rightlie then to y^t of Piſiſtratus in Athens, who launched himſelf to th'intent that by the ſighte of bleedinge woundes, the people might beleve he was ſet vpon: Yo^r Lop. gave owte that yo^r lyfe was foughte by the Lo. Cobham and S^r Wa. Ra: and carried allwayes ſuch a ſhewe of religion in yo^u that mens eyes were not able throughe ſuche a myſte to behould the deceipte. But yo^u imprifonne the Counſell: what reference hath that fa^{cte} to my Lo. Cobh^m or the reſt. yo^u alledged the matter to have reſolved vpon on 'the foddaine. No, yo^u weare three monthes in deliberacon. My Lo. deſcend into yo^r ſelf, and ſtrip yo^u of excuſe: the p^rties yo^u ſhott att (yf yo^u could haue rightly vnderſtood) were yo^r beſt ffreindes. here the E. of

E. Effex.

Effex interrupted him and sayde, that the speeche of Mr Bacon, gave him occasion to alledge him selfe against him selfe. ffor (saith he) Mr Bacon beinge a daylie Courtier, and havinge accessse to her Matie vnderooke to goe to the Queene in my behalf, and for that ende drue a letter very artificiallye, w^{ch} was subscribed wth my name, allso another letter was drawne, to occasion that letter, w^{ch} other came from his brother Mr Anthony Bacon, both w^{ch} he shold shewe the Queene. Gosnole broughte me both the letters, and in my letter he did pleade for me, as feelingly against those enemyes and pointed them owt as plainly as was possible. Mr Bacon answered that thes digressions were not fitt, Mr. Bacon. neither wold be suffered, but that the hono^r and patience of this assemblie was greate: he confesse the [he] had spent more howeres to make him a good s^vante to her Matie then ever he des^ved. for any thinge conteyned in those letters they wold not blushe in the clearest light. But (saith the E.) lett it be E. Effex. indifferently iudged whether I had cause of greife or not, when I was informed by those of good Creditt, that an honorable, grave, and wise Counsellor did with teares lament the coses they were takinge, that besides for that I spake in London, that the INFANTA of Spayne was intytled to the succession: I had reason, ffor it was tould me that Mr Secretarye so sayde to one of his fellow Counsellors, that the INFANTA'S tyle Compativelie, was as good as any other in the succession. Allso I sawe soe many oppressions in the State, y^t I was desirous to sacrifice my selfe in the redresse thereof by doinge any thinge that a Loyall subiecte mighte to doe them wth. Mr Secretarye beinge present besought Mr. Secreta. the Lo. Steward vpon his knee to give him leave to answer the E. of Effex, w^{ch} he seemed loathe to doe as not beleevinge what the E. had taxed him wthall: and the Peeres made one semblance of givinge light creditt thereunto. Mr Secretarye began to this effecte. My Lo. ffor witt I give yo^u the p^eminence, yo^u have it abundantlie. ffor birthe I give yo^u place. I am not noble, yet I am a gent: neither am I a sword man. Yo^u haue therefore the oddes of me. Butt I have inocencye to p^rtect me

from yo^r malicious slander, and I stand here in the p[']son of an honest man: yo^u there in the p[']son of a Trayto^r. Wherefore I do here challenge yo^u yf yo^u dare, to name vnto this honorable assemblie, that Counsell^r to whome I shold speake those wordes.

E. Essex.

The E. replied wth a kynde of frowne to be dared, that they all knewe he had not named one man, that daye for an other, neyther wold he. Then (qth M^r Secret:) it must be beleevd to

Mr. Secret:

E. Essex.

be a ficcon. No (qth the Earle) it is not, for the noble man that standeth by me hard it: and it was told ioyntlie to vs both.

Secret:

Then M^r Secretary said to the E. of South: in effecte, as followeth, if it be so then, my Lo. I coniure yo^u by all the love and frendshipp that hath bene betwixte vs, and as yo^u are a Christian: by the hono^r of yo^r name and howse and whatsoever else yo^u hold honorable, as I p[']test I holde yo^u severed from him in impudencie, that yo^u name here the Counsell^r to whome I

South:

shold speake it. The E. of South: answered, that he referred himself to that honorable Courte, whither it were fytt for hym, in the case he nowe stode, to name him. I refer me (qth he) to

Secret:

yo^r self S^r, and if you will say vpon yo^r hono^r y^t it were fitt I did name him, I will. I p[']test (qth M^r Secret:) before you and heaven, that yow should [do] yo^r Prince and Countreye a most acceptable f[']vice, for I were a verie vnworthye man to hold that place I doe in the State if I were to be touched in that sorte.

South:

Secret:

Then the Earle of South: named S^r Willm. Knollés to be the Counsellor to whome he shold so speake. Then (M^r Secret:) vpon his knee besoughte the Lo. Steward that S^r Willm Knollis might be sent for, w^{ch} was graunted. And M^r Secretarie p[']ceeded in an open p[']testacon, that he never hated the p[']son of the E. but his ymoderate aspiring. That he had told the Queene since my Lo. restreinte at my Lo. Keep^r, y^t he hoped y^t this late affliccon wold fitt hym to her Ma^{tes} service, and did but attend a fitt tyme, to move her Ma^{tie} to call him agayne to the Courte. Then the Q. Counsell p[']ceeded to the Evidence, obiectinge to the E. of Essex his cold hipocrisie, for as much as havinge in his house continually preachinge, he yet was contented

to S^r Chrif. Blunt: to p'mife a tolleracon of Religion. To that the E. answered, y^t he knewe S^r Chrif. Blunt to be a PAPIST Effex. and had often fought his con'ion and (qth he) beinge in speeche together aboute those matters, oh (qth S^r Chr. Blunt), my Lo. you are in passion against those of my p'fession: whereunto I answered, did you never knowe y^t at such tyme as I had power in the State, I was willinge noe man shold be troubled for his conscience. the E. of South: befought leave to speake, and spake to this South. effecte. I was ignorant (qth he) of the Lawes, therefore mighte easely transgreſs the bondes thereof. The first and onely motive that [led to] my stirr wth my Lo. was my love to my Lord, tyed vnto him both by the bondes of Allegiance and his manifold def'tes towards me. In respect whereof I was content to indure wth him the utmost hazard: for I sawe his case verie desp'ate for fav^{or} & therefore I consulted wth others to steere his passage to her Ma^{tie}. I p'test before allmightie God for noe other end then to p'strate o^r selves at her ffeete, wherein was never mencon made of sheddinge one drop of blood, And if in this my affection, I have bene transported beyond the Limittes of the Lawe, and that her highenes is displeased therewth, I doe in all humblenes crave her p'don and mercye, wherein I will never dispaire. I hope her Ma^{tie}, beinge Gode's Leivetenante vppon earth, will imytate him in Lookinge to the Earle and not condemne me for that, wherein onely through ignoraunce of her Lawes I have offended. heere M^r Secre: beinge moved wth a deepe touche of Secret. ymputacon layde vppon hym by the Lo. of Effex, humbly desired leave to move the Courte, w^{ch} graunted, he spake as followeth. S^r Willm. Knollis (qth he) is sent for. I knowe not by what messenger, neither whether he will come or not. I therefore beseech yo^r grace y^t some fure gent. may be sent as hath free accesse to her Ma^{tie}'s p'son, and y^t may p'sent vnto her my humble desire that it wold please her to comaunde him to come, and in my opinion this gent. that standes here, M^r Knyvett, a gent. of her Ma^{tie}'s preivy Chamber, were a verie meete man. The Lo. Steward, [and] the 7 Peeres consented. then M^r Secretarie turned

his speeche to Mr Knyvett to this effecte. Mr Knivet goe and deliver faithfullie this messuage to her Matie & I further coniure you as you are a gent. and do tendr your reputacon, by all or Love and by y^e dutye you owe to or Sou'aigne and Conterye, that you add this further from me to her Matie, That if either owt of want of care of me, or content to her self, she shall deny to send him, I doe here vowe vppon my salvacon, that I will never s'ue her as a Counsellor or Secretarie, but will live and dye her subiect and vassaile. I pray you forgett not to deliver it wth this p'viso, that I will dye her vassayle and subiect. Then they p'ceeded againe to the Evidence. And it was demaunded by Mr Attorney of the Judges to resolve the Courte whether to offer by force to remove anye of her Matie's Counsell be Treason or not? And it was answered to be treason. Allso, whether for a subiecte to make his passage to the presence of his prince by force vppon her Courte or Counsell were Treason, or not? It was likewise adiudged treason. Then it was vrged by Mr Attorney, that it was playne, that force was vsed, for foure of the Queene's subiectes were slayne, allso the attempt of the Courte was resolved at Drewry house. Whereto the E. of South: replied, That the resolucon was not testified by S^r Charles Davers. No (qth Mr Attorney). But S^r John Davis witneffeth a plain resolucon, wherevppon was redd the examinacon of S^r John Davies, to that effect, and in the rest agreeinge wth the others. Then the Lo. Admirall stooode vp and tooke witnesse of the Lo^{res} there present that there was noe losse of men till seven of the Clocke, on the Sondaye, at w^{ch} tyme they vnderstooode at Courte howe things passed at Essex house, And therefore it was not likelye the E. of Essex shold stir vp any such doubte. The E. of Essex wth p'testacon that not to save his owne lyfe, w^{ch} he cared not for, but to deliver a trouthe, for their sakes that were ingaged wth him, Affirmed againe that he was twice informed of a force levied, and for the matter of force obiected in killinge the Quenes subiectes, he p'tested it was much against his mynde. And that the bloode of his Countrey men was verie deare vnto him. Neither (sayd

Attorn.

South.

Sr Jo. Davies
Exam.

Lo. Admirall

E. Essex.

he) did I ever drawe my fworde, till I was charged at Ludgate, where I was shott twice in the hatt. I was told my Lo. of Cumberland was there. I desired to speake wth him and to make my self be vnderstoode of him. And for that end willed the Company that was wth me to stay. Then was S^r John Sr Jo. Lufon. Lufon depofed, to whome was comitted the charge of Ludgate, that no meffuage came to him from the E. after the first shott, wth many other circumstances of the E. behavio^r, of the killinge of the waytes there &c. In this meane while S^r W^m Knollis was Sr Wm. Knollis. come. And there in open courte did release M^r Secretarye of the speeches, and to put the matter quite owte of doubte, he said that there was a fedicious booke sett out, vnder the name of one Dallman, w^{ch} very corruptly disputed the tytle of the fucceffion, derivinge it as Lawfull vppon the INFANTA, as any other. And M^r Secretarye and he beinge in talke aboute that booke, M^r Secret: spake to this effecte, Is it not a straunge impudency in that Dallman to give equall righte in the fucceffion of England, to the Infanta as to any other. herevppon (qth M^r Comptroller) was grownded the fclaunder of M^r Secretarye, whereof he is as cleare as any man here p^sent. The Earle of E. Effex. Effex replied, that it was tould them in an other sence. noe my Lo. (qth M^r Secretarye) yo^r Lo. owt of yo^r mallice to me desires to make me odious, and of yo^r mallice haue noe other ground, Secret. then the breath betwene vs of the peace wth Spayne, w^{ch} I labored for the good and quyett of my Countreye, as for my affection to advaunce a Spanyshe tytle to England, I am so far from y^t, that I hate to think of it. And I pray god to consume me where I stande, If I doe not hate the Spanyard as much as any man lyvinge. But wth yo^u it hath ever bene a MAXIME, to pr^fer warr before peace, in respecte of the consequence to yo^r followers, and dependers. Divers other speeches passed betweene them, w^{ch} I remember not. Then they p^ceeded agayne to the matter, And there were red the Examinacons of the E. of Rutland, Lo. Cromwell and Lo. Sandes. The E. of Rutlandes was E. of Rutland Ex. to this effecte That he came to Effex house one the Sunday

morninge and it was then told him that the E. of Effex lyfe was
 foughte by the Lo. Cobh'm and S^r Wa. Ra: that the E. of Effex
 told him that the Cittye stode for hym, and that Sheriffe
 Smithe had p'mised to rayse him as many men as he could.
 That in London the E. of Effex made a speeche to the Towne-
 men, and in the end thereof told them, that they shold arme
 them, for that the Kingdome was offered to be sold to the
 Infanta. And said, they did him harme in comynge forthe
 naked. The E. of Effex interrupted the Clerk of the Crowne,
 beseechinge the Peeres, to note the weaknes of the E. of Rut-
 landes tale, who named neither tyme nor place and wthall
 p'tested that he sent for noe man. Then was alledged, that he
 wrought for the E. of Suffex vnder p'tence to come and meete
 wth a number of his ffreindes (as the E. himselfe there p'sent
 confessed). The E. of Effex answered, that he had a desire to
 satisfe all the honorable spirittes of England (in w^{ch} number he
 tooke his Lo^p) that the messuage to the Lo. Mayor was either to
 come or to send to Sheriffe Smithe's, into whose handes they
 wold put themselves, to be cutt in peeces, if they shold attempt
 any thinge vnlawfullie. And make me (qth he) as wicked as owte
 of any hum^r of yo^r harte yo^u wold make me, yet yo^u shall not
 make me absurd to goe into the Cittye after such a fashion as
 yo^u describe yf I had not apprehended an ymminent daunger.
 Then was farther vrged, that the E. of Rutland had' confessed
 that the E. of Effex was spurred forwards by the E. of South:
 (who whispered him in the eare) It was allso obiected to the E.
 of South: by M^r Attorney that he was a PAPIST: and had had
 conuersation wth Preistes: whereto the E. of South: answered
 that for the first matter, the E. of Rutland might mistake,
 affirmyng that he onely wished my Lo. of Effex to goe vp into
 a chamber: And for the last it was very uniuersally vrged, for he
 tooke vppon his salvacon that he never knewe Preiste, but only
 one Wright, and wth hym he never conuersed in all his Lyfe, and
 yf it could be otherwise p'ued he desired to dye. The Lo. Crom-
 well's Ex. was he knewe nothinge tyll Sunday morninge,

E. Effex.

E. Suffex.

E. South.

when feeinge the E. of E. pafs by his lodginge in fletee ftreete, he followed hym into London. he hard the E. of Effex cry for all yo^r good my maifters, that the Realme fhould be foldd &c. Nay my Lo. (qth M^r Attorney) howfoever yo^u goe aboute to Attorney. cloake matters, and to make a p'tence of an innocente harte, thefe Depoficons of men of yo^r owne companye admytt noe contradiction: And I wond^{er} not at yo^r denyall, for yo^u will appeare to be of all religions, one while Papift, an other while a Puritaine, and that but to gayne vnto yo^r felfe all fortes of people. It will allfo be p'ved that yo^u have practized wth Tyrone: To that the E. answered he could not p've it: he defyed all the world for y^t E. Effex. matter. Yes (qth M^r Attorney) yo^u fent Lea to him as he hath Attorney. confeffed. The Earle againe denied it, affirminge that it was far E. Effex. from him to trust Lea in fuch a bufines. yes (qth M^r Attorney) Attur: and it fhall appeare, that Lea had direktion from you to attempt the Queene, for the w^{ch} he was executed as a Trayto^r the other daye. The E. answered that he never fett him a worke, nor E. Effex. never heard that he was apprehended till M^r Warburton told it him. And to the former obiection of M^r Attorneye touchinge his religion, he p'tefted that he never was fektarie, and then excufed himfelf of havinge delte againft the Bifhops: havinge beene in his younge tyme ledd theretoe by fome hott fpirittes, w^{ch} fince are growne to a better temper. And for Papiftrie, he doubted not but all the worlde wold cleare him from that ymputation. The Lo. Sandes his Examinacon was redd to this effe^{ct}e, Lo. Sandes Ex. vz. that he came to Effex houfe aboute vi. a clocke in the morninge, And went wth the E. of Effex to Sheriffe Smithe's houfe, and ftayde wthoute till he was fent for in by the Earle. where the E. told him, he wold go backe to his houfe, for there was a blacke bagg that fhould tell noe tayles. wherevppon M^r Attor- Attur: neye tooke occafion to fpeake: That yf that black bagge could have bene lighte vppon, there wold haue bene found much good ftuffe. ffor (qth he) Bothe S^r John Davies and S^r Charles Davers doe depofe that yo^u faid vnto them that black bagg could tell that yo^u were betrayed in London. W^{ch} allfo is witneffed by

Buffell, who was very forward wth yo^u. But yo^u were confident in London, havinge beene p^rswaded by yo^r sicophantes that all the Cittie was of yo^r p^rte and in yo^r pride and overweeninge of theire p^rtakinge, yow contemned the Q^{ue}'s Royall authoritie, her herraldes wold not be harkened vnto. To this the E. of Effex replied, as for Buffell, he was never inward wth him. he was his servante and wayted one hym att his table, and that was all the greatnes. And for the herralde, he beleved not that he had authoritie to doe that he did, beinge a man of noted dishonestie, and was burnt in the hand: I never (qth the E.) conferred nor attempted any thinge but to th^ende to serve my Countrie and sou'aigne, by makinge her Ma^{tie} vnd^eftand vs, w^{ch} we cold not doe for the potencie of o^r enemyes, that were aboute her. And therefore I do laye a charge vppon yo^u all my Lo. and those that be hearers that notwthstandinge all Eloquence vsed to make me seeme a Trayto^r, a Papis^te, a Sectarie and an Atheiste, and to haue vsurped the Crowne, yo^u will yet witnes wth me and so I doubte not but to manifest, by goinge wth a courage and cherefully vnto my death, that I dye a good Christian, and never foughte to exceede the degree of a subiecte: howsoever I have bene delte wthhall. I euere foughte to appease all humo^r of revenge, and for confirmacon thereof was resolved to receave the Sacram^t till the attempt vppon the E. of South. I am far from Atheisme, and doe desire to dye as a Christian and an Earle, that haue faithfullie f'ved my Prince and Countrie, whatsoever others have testified, out of the weaknes of theire hartes against me, or to seeme to haue said enoughe I desire it may not lye heavye vppon me. I never thoughte of a p^rliam^t. Then M^r Attorney told him that it was not possible but his purpose must be to sett the Crowne vppon his owne heade: ffor (qth he) yo^u drewe manye Earles, Barons and gent: of greate houses into the busines wth yo^u. howe shall it be thought yo^u could haue rewarded them owte of yo^r maymed estate. The E. answered noe other waye then vppon o^r knees to her Ma^{tie}. Then M^r Bacon spake to this effect. I doubte the varietie of the matter,

E. Effex.

Attorn.

E. Effex.

Bacon.

and digressions haue sever^{ed} the Judgm^t of the Lo: And therefore I hold it necessar^{ie} to recyte the Judges opinyons. That done he p^{re}ceded to this effecte. Nowe put case (qth he) the E. of Effex intent were as he wold have it beleaved, to goe as a Supl^t to her Mat^{ie}, yet shall their peticons be armed peticons, w^{ch} allwayes p^{re}cede losse of libertie to the Prince. Neither is it a nyce poynt of Lawe (as my Lo. of South: wold have it beleved) that condemnes them of treason. But even Comon fence to Consulte to execute and run together in numbers, in these dobl^{et}tes and hose, armed wth weapons, what can be the excuse? Warned by the Lo. Keep: by a herrald, and yet p^{re}sist, Will any simple man take this for les then Treason? The Earle answered, E. Effex. that if he had purposed any thinge againste any other then those his private enemyes, he wold not have stirred wth so slender a Company. Whereto M^r Bacon answered in this sorte, it was not Bacon. the company yo^u carryed wth yo^u that yo^u trusted vnto but the assistance w^{ch} you hoped for in the Cittye. The GUISE thurst^e himselfe into Paris against the Kinge, with onelye a gent., and found that helpe there w^{ch} yo^u (thanckes be to God) fayled of here. And what followed? The Kinge was put to his Pillgrime's habitt, and in that disguise was forced to escape the furye of the Guise: yo^u came wth fayer pr^{er}terce, wth all hayle and a kisse, to the Cittye, but the ende was treason. And that hath bene sufficiently p^{ro}ved. The Earles spake agayne in effect (as The Earles. before) for their owne defence, willinge a p^{er}formaunce of the p^{ro}mise made them by the Lo. Admyrall, to have an honorable tryall: and civill vsage, in the meane tyme, all w^{ch} they thanckfully acknowledged to haue bene p^{er}formed. Then the Lo. Lo. Stew. Steward had the Earles to goe together, and Comaunded the Leivetennte of the Tower to wthdrawe his prissoners from the Barr. The Peeres went out, into a place p^{ro}vided for them, fayre hanged wth Tapistrye, in the place where the Courte of Chauncerie was keepte. And after some half hower's consultacon havinge allso called the Judges into them, to resolve them the poyntes of Lawe, they came forth againe, and tooke there places

as before. Then were they all called. And then the Lo. Steward demaunded of the youngest Lo. first, w^{ch} was the Lo. Howard of Wallden: how say yo^u my Lo. is my Lo. of Effex: [Rest of the page blank and other five pages following.]

NOTES.

[On the speciality of the preceding account by an eye and ear witness of this celebrated Trial, see our *Introduction*; also references to others. With respect to Essex himself it will suffice to refer for full details on his brilliant but tragical career to the *Lives of the Devereux*, by Capt. W. B. Devereux (2 vols. 8vo, 1853), and to all the Histories of England of his age. We have collected his Poems in Fuller Worthies' Library, *Miscellanies*, vol. iv. It may interest some to have these memorials of other names that occur in the Narrative. We have arranged the names alphabetically in order that they may be easily found in relation to the places in the Narrative without sprinkling the text with figures of reference thereto.

ANDERSON, SIR EDMUND, knt., was Chief Justice of the Common Pleas from 2nd May 1582 until his death 1st August 1605, about 75 years. He was buried at Eyworth, Bedfordshire.

BACON. The name is sufficient. See Letters onward.

BLOUNT, SIR CHRISTOPHER, was a younger son of James, sixth Lord Mountjoy. He married Letitia, dau. of Sir Francis Knolles, K.G. He was beheaded on Tower Hill 18th March 1600-1.

BROOKE, HENRY, sixth LORD COBHAM, succeeded his father in 1596. He was arraigned, condemned and attainted in 1604 for high treason in connection with Raleigh. He died in imprisonment 24th January 1618-19. He married Frances, dau. of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, but left no issue.

BRUGES, WILLIAM (or Brydges), fourth Lord Chandos, succeeded his brother Giles 21st February 1593-4. He married Margaret, dau. of Sir Owen Hopton, knt., Lieutenant of the Tower, and died 18th November 1602.

CAREY, GEORGE, second Lord Hunsdon, succeeded his father 23rd July 1596. He was Captain of the Band of Pensioners, Lord Chamberlain and a Knight of the Garter. He died 9th September 1603 without male issue, and was succeeded by his brother John.

CECIL, SIR ROBERT, was Secretary from 1596 to the end of Elizabeth's reign, and was re-appointed by K. James I.

CECIL, THOMAS, second Lord Burghley, succeeded his father 4th August 1598, and was created Earl of Exeter 4th May 1605. He married twice, and died in 1622.

CLARKE, SIR ROBERT, became a Baron of the Exchequer in June 1587 until his death 1st January 1606-7. He was buried at Good Estre, co. Essex.

CLIFFORD, GEORGE, third EARL OF CUMBERLAND, succeeded his father 8th January 1569, and died 30th October 1605, in his 48th year, without male issue. One of his daughters was the renowned Anne, Countess of Dorset and Pembroke.

CLINTON, HENRY, second Earl of Lincoln, succeeded his father 16th January 1584-5. He died in 1616; ancestor of the present Duke of Newcastle.

COKE, SIR EDWARD, became Attorney-General 10th April 1594. His life belongs to our History at its greatest. He died 3rd September 1633 in his 82nd year. The Narrative shows him at his worst.

COMPTON, WILLIAM, son and heir of Henry Compton (who died in 1589), was summoned to Parliament in 1593, and was created Earl of Northampton 2nd August 1618. He died in 1630.

DANVERS, SIR CHARLES, was eldest son of Sir John Danvers, knt., of Dauntsey, Wilts., by Elizabeth, dau. of John Nevil, last Lord Latimer of that surname. He was beheaded on Tower Hill 18th March 1600-1.

DARCY, THOMAS, third LORD DARCY, of Chiche, succeeded his father in 1580, and was created VISCOUNT COLCHESTER 5th July 1621, and Earl of Rivers 4th November 1626. He died in 1639.

DE VERE, EDWARD, seventeenth Earl of Oxford and Great Chamberlain. He had a command in the fleet that opposed the Armada in 1588. He married first Anne, dau. of the Lord Treasurer Burghley, and secondly Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas Trentham, esq. He died in

1604 at an advanced age. The present Editor has collected his Poems in his Fuller Worthies' Library, *Miscellanies*, vol. iv.

FENNER, SIR EDWARD, became a Judge of the King's Bench 26th May 1590, died 23rd January 1611-12, and was buried at Hayes, co. Middlesex. He was son of John Fenner, of Crawley, co. Surrey.

FLEMING, SIR THOMAS, knt., son of John Fleming, of Newport, Isle of Wight, where he was born in 1544. He was Solicitor-General in 1595, and became Chief Baron of the Exchequer 27th October 1604, and Chief Justice of England 25th June 1607. He died suddenly at Stoneham Park 7th August 1613, and was buried in the Parish Church there. He married Dorothy, dau. of Sir Henry Cromwell, an aunt of Oliver, the Protector.

GAWDY, SIR FRANCIS, was made a Judge of the Queen's Bench 25th November 1588, and a frequent Commissioner on the criminal trials of the period. He became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas 26th August 1605, and died in 1606; buried at Runcton, Norfolk.

GREY, THOMAS, fifteenth LORD GREY of Wilton, succeeded his father in 1593. He was involved in what was called the Raleigh Conspiracy, and was tried with Lord Cobham in 1603. He died in the Tower 6th July 1614.

HARRIS and HEALE, Sergeants — do not appear to have risen to any higher legal dignity.

HOWARD, CHARLES, second BARON HOWARD, of Effingham, Lord High Admiral, is "immortal" by his defeat of the Spanish Armada. He was created Earl of Nottingham 22nd October 1596. He died 14th December 1624, aged 88.

HOWARD, LORD THOMAS. Probably same as Viscount Bindon. He was second son of Thomas, first Viscount Howard, of Bindon, by his first wife, Elizabeth, dau. and coheir of John, Lord Marney. He succeeded his elder brother Henry as third Viscount in 1590, and died in 1610 without issue, and the title became extinct.

HOWARD, THOMAS, younger son of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, was summoned to Parliament 24th October 1597 as Thomas Howard of Walden. He was created Earl of Suffolk 21st July 1603, and died in 1626.

KINGSMILL, SIR GEORGE, became a Judge of the Common Pleas

8th February 1599. He resigned in 1605, and died in April 1606. He was second son of Sir John Kingsmill, of Sidmanton, Hants.

LUMLEY, JOHN, created Baron Lumley by Act of Parliament in 1547 (his predecessor having been attainted), was also one of the peers who sat in judgment on Mary, queen of Scots. He left no surviving issue. He died 11th April 1609, at a great age.

MANNERS, ROGER, fifth EARL OF RUTLAND, succeeded his father in 1588. He married Elizabeth, dau. and heir of Sir Philip Sidney, but died without issue in 1612.

PARKER, EDWARD, tenth LORD MORLEY, succeeded his father in 1581. He was one of the peers who sat in judgment on Mary, queen of Scots, and the Earl of Arundell, as well as Essex. He died in 1618.

PERYAM, SIR WILLIAM, knt., was Chief Baron of the Exchequer from 13th April 1593 until his death on the 9th October 1604. He was a native of Exeter and eldest son of John Peryam, twice Mayor of that city. He was a Judge of the Common Pleas 13th February 1580-1.

PEYTON, SIR JOHN, knt., of Doddington, co. Cambridge, was second son of Sir John Peyton, knt., of Knowlton, co. Kent, by Dorothy, dau. of Sir John Tindall, K.B. He was Lieutenant of the Tower, and as such had the custody of the present as of all State prisoners therein. He was a Privy Councillor; also Governor of Jersey and Guernsey *temp.* James I. He lived until 1631, and is stated to have reached the age of 99 years.

POPHAM, SIR JOHN, knt., was Lord Chief Justice of England from 2nd June 1592 until his death. He died 10th June 1607, aged 76 years, and was buried at Wellington in Somersetshire.

RATCLIFFE, ROBERT, sixth Lord Fitzwalter and fifth Earl of Sussex, succeeded his father 18th April 1593. He was with the Earl of Essex at the sacking of Cadiz. He died in 1629 without surviving issue.

RICH, ROBERT, third Lord Rich, succeeded his father in 1581, and was advanced to the earldom of Warwick 6th August 1618. He was at the sacking of Cadiz, under the Earl of Essex, whose sister, Penelope, was his first wife, but from whom he was divorced. He died the same year in which he became Earl of Warwick.

SACKVILLE, THOMAS (son of Sir Richard Sackville, knt., by Winefred, dau. of Sir John Bruges, Lord Mayor of London), was created BARON

BUCKHURST 8th June 1567, appointed Lord High Treasurer of England 1599, and raised to the earldom of Dorset 13th March 1603-4. As he advanced in the State he did not seem to care for any remembrance of his Poetry; but to it alone owes his imperishable name. He died suddenly at the Council table at Whitehall, 19th April 1608.

SANDYS, WILLIAM, third BARON SANDYS, of the Vine, succeeded his grandfather and was summoned to Parliament in 1572. For his connection with the Earl of Essex he suffered imprisonment, but was not attainted. He died in 1623.

SEYMOUR, EDWARD, son of Edward, Duke of Somerset (the Protector) by his second wife, Anne, dau. of Sir Edward Stanhope, was created Earl of Hertford 13th January 1559. He was twice married, and died at an advanced age in 1621.

SOMERSET, EDWARD, fourth EARL OF WORCESTER, succeeded his father in 1589. He married Elizabeth, dau. of Francis, Earl of Huntingdon, and died 3rd March 1627-8; ancestor of the present Duke of Beaufort.

ST. JOHN, OLIVER, third Lord St. John, of Bletshoe, succeeded his brother John in 1596, and died in 1618. He was father of the first Earl of Bolingbroke.

STAFFORD, EDWARD, third BARON STAFFORD (of the new creation), succeeded his brother Henry 8th April 1566. He married Mary, dau. of Edward, Earl of Derby, and died 18th October 1603. The barony became extinct about 1640.

STANLEY, WILLIAM, sixth Earl of Derby, succeeded his brother Ferdinando 16th April 1594, and on the 26th June following married the lady Elizabeth de Vere, eldest dau. of Edward, seventeenth Earl of Oxford. He died in 1642.

TALBOT, GILBERT, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, succeeded his father in 1590. He married Mary, dau. of Sir William Cavendish, of Chatsworth, knt., and died 8th May 1616, leaving surviving issue only three daughters.

WALMSLEY, SIR THOMAS, was a Judge of the Common Pleas from 10th May 1589, until his death 26th November 1612. He was eldest son of Thomas Walmsley, of Sholley, co. Lancaster, by his wife Margaret Livesay, and born about 1537. He was buried at Blackburn,

Lancashire, but his monument was destroyed by the parliamentary soldiers in 1642.

WEST, THOMAS, second LORD DE LA WARR, succeeded his father 30th December 1595. He married Anne, dau. of Sir Francis Knolles, and died in 1602.

WINDSOR, HENRY, fifth LORD WINDSOR, succeeded his brother Frederick 24th December 1585. He died 6th April 1605. He was ancestor of the late Earls of Plymouth. The earldom expired on the death of Henry, eighth Earl, 8th December 1843.

WRIOTHESLEY, HENRY, third EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON, was son of Henry, second Earl, by Mary, dau. of Anthony Browne, Viscount Montagu. He succeeded to the title in 1581. As told in the Narrative he was tried, condemned and attainted for high treason; but his life was spared. On the accession of K. James I. he was released from prison, restored in blood by Act of Parliament, and had a new patent as Earl of Southampton. He "lives" in Shakespere. He died in 1624.

YELVERTON, SIR CHRISTOPHER, was elected Speaker of the Parliament of October 1597, and became Queen's Sergeant shortly after its dissolution in 1598. In 1602 he became a Judge of the King's Bench. He died in November 1612 at Easton Mauduit, Northamptonshire.

Be it noted with reference to the use of "Prince" for Elizabeth, that it was constantly used as a noun of common gender (page 5, line 6); also that "one" is the frequent spelling of "on"; and that Sup^h is = Suppliant (page 23, line 5). *G.*]

42 Elizabeth: 19 Novembris 1599.
In Camera Stellata.

THE Lo. Keeper exhorted all Justices and gent. to reparaire into the Countrie for hospitalitie and said that it had bene often comaunded from her mat^{ie}, but not obeyed. he said he had further in charge from her Ma^{tie} to admonishe them to haue care of the service of god and religion in their Countries, w^{ch} nowe was growe colde, by defaulte whereof her Mat^{ie}'s subiectes growne in many places disobediente, and in Ireland especiallie disloyall & rebellious, whereby they spared not there & here at home to speake seditiouslye and trayterouslye of the Counsell & magistrates yea of their prince, not remembringe that Counsell w^{ch} Moyfes gave, Principi populi in colore tuo ne maledicas, but rather like Shemey cursinge David to his face. from whence it comes that so many politique discourfers take vpon them to censure the actions of Princes and to set downe formes of gouerementes for Comon Wealthes, and many at Ordinarye tables that haue not a shillinge to paye for their Ordinarie, wilbe censuringe of Princes affayres. Nay very seditiouslye they haue cast abroad, Libells in diuers places of the Cittye, and allfoe in the Courte, whereby it appeareth howe malitiouslye they stande affected to her Mat^{ie} and her p^{re}cedinges, w^{ch} as they haue allwayes bene moste honorable and Princelie, so hath she bene in nothinge more honorable then in her mercie, thoughte such lewde affected Subiectes deserve it not. Thes their practises, as they are flandrous to the present gou^{er}nem^t and lay

an imputacon of weakenes in her Matie and her Counsell, foe are they seditious and traytrous in stirringe vp y^e Q. subiectes to a mysslyke of this p^rsent gou^{er}m^t. And thinges the statute of 25. E. 3. de prodicionibus extend not to[o] farre suche traiterous offences in p^ticuler, yet the Comon Lawe before the Statute makes it Treason. But to come to the matter in hand, It is not vnknown vnto yo^u what a princelie care her matie hathe allwayes had to quiett and settle the gou^{er}m^t of that same torne Kingdome of Ireland, and att what infinite charges, her matie hathe bene, to reduce them to her obedience, insomuche that latelye she employed great forces for the effectinge thereof. It cannot be remembred that ever there wente a more puyssant armye, wth better p^rvision of victuall, Armor and municon, neither was there ever any Subiecte und^{er} his Prince, noe not the kinges Sonne him selfe, that ever had a larger Comission then he that was employed in this accon. But what became of y^t? the Queene's bountye was abused, the moneye spent, the armor losse and spoyle, the soldiers wasted, the prince impou^rished & re^acon dishono^red, the enemye made stronger by our weakenes, and nowe insolente by o^r erro^{res} and ou^rsightes, and we haue lost that w^{ch} cannot be regayned, The opportunitie of tyme. vppon the first vnd^{er}takinge of thes Irishe services, diuerse Counsellis were helde and all that had experience of thes countries were consulted wthall, and her most gracious Matie pleased to grace o^r Counsellis wth her p^rsence, where it was p^rvided, bothe what force wold serue for the purpose and what service was first to be vnd^{er}taken: It was concluded that there was noe other Course to be taken but first to incoun^{ter} TYRONE and cut the tree at y^e roote and the braunches wold fall of, but contrary to this direction, the govern^{or} vnd^{er}tooke other f^rvices & therein spent all the sommer, till it was to[o] late to attempt TYRONE. Who vppon conference wth o^r gen^rall, could obie^ct vnto hym o^r weakenes, and how able he was to cut of o^r forces and to intercept o^r victuall, and spared not to make vauntes of his owne strengthe, wherein the GENERALL was greatly overseene, to conferr

privatelie wth such a Rebelle, no man beinge by. Vppon w^{ch} conference the Rebelle p^rpounded the most dishonorable condicions that ever were offered to bereave her mat^{ie} of the authoritie and p^rogative of a Prince, and indeed to disqueene her. hee to make Lawes, establishe Religion and to governe them as he listed, so that in effecte he wold be Kinge & she Queene should but beare the name *more precario*, but not *Re et facto*. After w^{ch} conference when there was neede to have stayed, to establishe the governmt, the Generall & those that had charges came over, w^{ch} could not be but to the greate daunger of that Kingdome. Soe that layinge the faulte where it is, the Queene's most excellent mat^{ie}, can not but be excused, for beinge any way the cause of thes disastorous eventes, who desireth noe longer to raigne, no not to live, then to seeke the good of her Countrye.

After the Lo. Treasurer had began to speake, the Lo. Keepe: inte^rupted him, excusinge him selfe by want of memorye & the foddaine warninge to speake, and told them that he had forgott to lett them knowe, howe that since the Generall's cominge over TYRONE was owte againe and at worfe tearmes then ever. The LO. TREASURER devided his speeche in these partes, p^rvision, Municon, Prosecution and execution. touchinge the p^rvision he said that her Mat^{ie} delt most honorablie wth the Earle of Effex, whereas he was indebted 8000^{li} to her mat^{ie} she forgave him the debte, and over and above gave him sixtene thousand pounes. she yelded besides to all his demaundes, for at firste he demaunded but 12 thousand foote and 1000 horse, after he had added to the foote 1000 more and to the horse 300, so that his forces of Englishe beside voluntarye gent. and all the Iryshe noblemen, gent. and others, were 17 thousand and odd. besides at his goinge, he had 3 monethes pay aforehands, w^{ch} came to one and fifty thousand pounes, and allwayes had 3 monethes pay in hand, and whereas he lay from the middest of marche till the end of Aprill, at Chester for wynde, the Queene bare his charges all the while. beside he had allowance for 21 thousand coates for Soldyres, his horsfemen 300, taken vp of the charge of the Coun-

trye, the rest at her Matie's charge. ffor the p'vision of his victualls there were victulers of London that carried victualles from London thither everye monthe, And whereas some reporte that the victualles sometye came shorte and were spoyled, and corrupted, before they came there, y^t was either by reason of the wynde or by meanes of the mariners negligence that tooke noe better care of y^t, and not to be imputed to her Matie. Secondlye, to inquire the Mvntion, he had y^t w^{ch} was never sene in Ireland before, 12 greate peeces for Batterie and one hundred last of powder, w^{ch} was a most princely p'portion of munition. Touchinge the p'fecution, Whereas he was advised by the Counsell here to attempt TYRONE firste, he quite contrarye, w^{thout} the consent of the counsell here, or the Counsell of Irelande, spent his tyme and his forces vppon the p'vince of Munster and Auphalia to noe purpose, where noe greate matter was effected, and in meane tyme Tyrone tooke his pleasures and lived secure. Touchinge Execution, when the Generall came to Tyrone he conferred vppon such tearmes as were greatlye to the disadvantage of the Queene and dishono^r of o^r Nacon, and by thes sinister courses, the f'rvice had not the good effect that was expected. wherevppon divers ill affected Subiectes seditiously gave it forthe that this service miscarried by some defaulte in her Matie and her Counsell here at home, for want of supply of men, money or victuall, all w^{ch} is vntrue as appereth by the princely p'vision before rehearsed. And he affirmed ther that since the E. of Essex goinge over into Ireland, it had cost her matie three hundred thousand poundes one way or other. And further he said, albeit other Princes yea the K. of SPAYNE, the greatest Prince of Christendome, dothe divers tymes owe more to his soldyers and his garrisonnes then he is able to pay for the p'sente, yet her matie out of her princelie mynde, made suche p'vision y^t nothinge was wanting for so greate an enterprise, yet the worste sorte of subiectes are not satisfied, but seditiously flynge abroad Lybells w^{ch} of other thinges is the most damnable and p'nicious thinge in the Comon Wealth: Against a blowe a man may have a Targett

and agaynst a shott an Armo^r of prooffe, but against a flaunder and secrete reproche there is noe defence but patience and to leave the Revenge to God. The Lo. Admyrall sayd that the matter had bene so fullye debated of before, that he coulde add little to that w^{ch} was allreadye sayde, yet his place and office required him to faye somethinge. And this he coulde affirme vppon his owne knowledge, that when these Irishe affayres for the E. of Essex, his employ^{mt} there, was firste in Question, it was his owne demaunde to have foe many men, vz. 12 thousande foote, and 1000 horse, and wth thes he wold make the earth tremble. well he had them, naye he had added vnto them 1000 more, besides the Remnant of the Englishe Soldyers in Ireland, and all the Irishe forces that stoode well affected to her Ma^{tie} and all those appointed (as you have hard of) in as princelye manner as ever was harde of, and yet Ireland standeth still, nay standeth in worfe tearmes then ever it did, for whenas he was directed to goe firste to Tyrone, he went an other contrary course to Munster and Auphalia, w^{ch} course, though some Iryshe gent. and Soldiers, called before the counsell, advised for there owne p^ticular good, to have those p^tes firste quyetted, where there Lyvinges did lye, yet in true Judgem^t and weight of reason, all concluded that Tyrone was firste to be attempted, in respecte that Maguere O'donell, and the other Rebells of the North depended vppon him and weare most daungerous. he said when he firste hard of the Earle's dispatch for Munster, he thought that the E. of Ormond had drawne him to that service by his p^rswasions, and did thincke him worthy of greate blame at her ma^{ties} handes. But after^rwardes it appeared by advertisem^t out of Ireland, that it was not so, but that the E. of Essex did vnder^{er}take the service and forveye[?] of his owne heade, wth owte any advise of the Counsell of Ireland, and so all the Counsell of Ireland have certified vnder there handes to her Ma^{tie}.

An other thinge I am able to speake p^rhaps better then others, bicause it is wthin the Compas of my office, that when the E. of Essex went thither first, his request was to have some of the Q.

shippes to attend vppon the Irysh Seas, vppon the Northerne p'tes, p'tendinge that he ment to assaile those Northerne p'tes, by Land and Sea att one instant. Wherevppon he had 5 of the Q. Shippes, and 4 other stronge shippes furnished at the greate charge of the Queene and there they stayed all the while, to the infinite charge of her Matie, and nothings attempted wth them nor so much as purposed to be attempted (as appeareth by the course held there). much he insisted (as they did all) vppon the harde constructions w^{ch} divers made of thes services. for Layinge an Imputacon and scandall vppon her Matie and her counsell. And soe wth a sharpe reprehension to Libellers wth specous and secreat slanderors he concluded. But after he had done, and my Lo. CHAMBERLAYN was p^rparinge himselfe to speake, he stepped vp agayne and wth some vehemencie of speeche, swore by God, that yf 16 Thoufand Englishe foldiers soe appointed as they weare, were landed in Spayne, they mighte goe throughe all Spayne, and thrust the kinge owte of his kingdome.

Lo. CHAMBERLAYNE, Lo. NORTH and M^r Comptroller, spake so softelye that I could not well heare them, but it seemed by that little I hard, they all blamed the rayfers of these reportes, acquittinge her Matie.

M^r Secretarie said thoughe otherwise he coulde be content to be sylent yet two thinges did principally move him to speake, ffrste bicause he had intelligence by reason of his place, and did sometymes advise in thes affayres, Secondlye thes matters concerninge the hono^r of her Matie, he was bounde in a stricter obligacon of love and dutie then others towards her, in respect that her Matie p^rferred him, the weakest of others, and the les his defartes were y^e greater oughte to be his obligacon of dutye. he p^tested he wold speake that he meante to saye, owte of a Charitable mynde, and desired that a Charitable construction mighte be made of his wordes. Touchinge the sclaudres and Libells he sayd that he was of opinion, that noe gent. nor Souldyer, nor Lawier, or Scholler, wold haue soe vile a conceipte in his heade, but it was the rascall scumm of the people. And

whereas it is muttered that there is noe reckoninge, noe accompte made of foldyers, he p'tested he thoughte the p'fession honorable and themselves verie well deservinge of the Comon Wealth. But some obiecte if there be peace wth Spayne, there will be noe employ^{mt} for foldiers, but we will vse them as we vse o^r horses, when we haue noe vse for them, to torne them to grasse. Noe her Ma^{tie} hath a most hono^rable and princely care of them, that they may be p'vided for. she desired he mighte be excused if he layde as'p'sions vppon some, for the necessitie of the cause in Question enforced him. Wherein he inveighed againste the Cowardice of Harrington, that was put to a shamefull flighte by the sonne of a Mountayne Kerne Tefsmakewe, w^{thin} twelve myles of Dublyn, and againste the shamefull flighte of o^r foldyers at the CURLEWES, where the hono^rable gent. S^r Conyas Clyfford dyed, at w^{ch} service 2000 fouldiers, were put to flighte by 600 Irishe Rebels. So monstrous dishono^r to this nacon as ever happened. Owte of the opinyon of this Cowardize of o^{rs} and owte of slacknes in the late p'ceedinges, there is such a pride and confidence of his owne greatnes put into Tyrone the Rebelle, that he thinketh of the forme of a black smithe to be kinge of Ireland forsooth, and in Tytles allreddye exaltethe him self above all the Geraldines, where in deede there is as greate oddes betweene them and him, as between a p'ishe Preiste and the greatest Prelate of the Lande, or betweene me and my far inferio^r. To suppress this pride of his it was thought fitt to send out a puissant Army, wth such p'vision of all thinges as before hathe bene menconed. And this he did affirme, that Ireland at the E. of Essex goinge over, hath cost her Ma^{tie} 300 thousand poundes: as before it was alledged. Add then vnto this the infynite charge the Queene hath bene att in settlinge the ffrench kinge, in the kingdome of ffrance. And in defendinge the Lowe Countreyes from the Spanyard, insomuch that since eightye eighte there hath bene spent 33 Thousand Poundes, besides thes charges in Ireland. soe that her Ma^{ties} treasure is not stolne from her as some p'happs suppose. further the pride of this insolent Rebelle

is to be noted in his Condicons and Articles w^{ch} he p'pounded viz. to haue Papiftry to be iterated, not onely throughe his owne Countrye but thorough all Ireland: wherein is to be observed the subtill flightes of this olde Rebell in makinge the ignorant wretches of the Countrye belive, he goeth aboute to p'cure their lib'tie, when indeede he getteth noe more of them then they haue allreddye. ffor her gracious Ma^{tie} herein dealethe bothe politiqulie and mercifully. for the lawes of this land made againste Jesuites, Seminary priestes and other papistes extend not to Ireland, for heare the gospell is preached and therefore sup'fition amongst vs more odious, and nearer to her Ma^{ties} p'son, and therefore more daungerous: but in thes remote p'tes of Ireland where they feldome heare the gospell preached, her Ma^{tie} hath delte more myldlie wth them then to extend her lawes againste them that have not those good meanes to conforme themselves: But some will saye, that the Queene mighte haue Rooted out the whole Nacon by this tyme. So hath the Spanyard done in the Indyes, but her Ma^{tie} is more mercifull, for they must haue some place to live in. It hath bene said that Vlster of it self hath yelded to the kinges of this Land, an hundred thousand pound by the yeare, w^{ch} is most vntrue, but is moste certaine that her Ma^{tie} for her tyme did never receave above 13 thousand pounes, and of that there is good p'fe it falleth owt nowe otherwise, that it putteth her Ma^{tie} to a most excessive charge. Where besides the disafter of our succeffes many thinges redowne, both to the disgrace and daunger of this Nacon: Notwthstandinge all these greate forces and Charges, the Rebell is broughte to noe better tearmes then heretofore, by the E. Ormound, S^r John Norrice, and S^r Rich. Bingham. But if the E. of Effex had at the firste incountred Tyrone (as at the first before his goinge into Ireland it was his owne election and offer to the Counsell) it is not to be doubted but some other effecte of all thes services might haue bene hoped for. But to omitt thinges allreddy spoken of, and to come to that w^{ch} is most p'r to the place w^{ch} I beare (thoughe vnworthie) it is fitt to answere some obiections touchinge the

Comiſſion of the E. of Effex, w^{ch} ſome haue taken to be ſo large and ſo muche ſcope therein lefte to give him libertye for Cominge over, that diuerſe thinke it hard meafure offered to him to have that obieſted againſt him, that was thereby p^mitted hym to doe. It is true that her Ma^{tie} did deale moſt princely wth him in his Comiſſion: makinge it more liberall and Large then any hath bene heretofore, and althoughe Princes be not bound to render an account to their ſubieſtes of their accons & p^rpoſes, yet bicauſe her Ma^{tie} is deſirous to give ſatisfacon to the worlde of her moſt iuſt and hono^rable p^rceedinges in this Caſe, you ſhall knowe that when her ma^{tie} vnder^rſtood in what deſ^rpate tearmes the Country of Ireland did ſtand, ſhe diſpatched her l^res to him w^{ch} were to this effeſte v^z. ſeinge y^t Country of Ireland is ſo rent and devided, and their ſtandinge at ſuch hard tearmes as they doe, it is fytt that yo^u ſhold give ſtrength and ſecuritye to the Countrey by yo^r p^rſence, wherefore albeit at other tymes, wee have bene pleaſed to give more libertie for yo^r ſpeedie retorne, yet nowe vppon further deliberacon had, we comaund yo^u vppon yo^r dutye and allegiaunce, not to come from them, vntill yo^u heare further from vs. This was her Mat^{ies} will to doe, by the neceſſitye of the affayres there. But I knowe it and I ſpeake it confidently, that yf he had ſtayed but 16 dayes longer, he had had liſenſe from her Ma^{tie} to come over. And heere now I anſwere another obieſtion that was made. It is given forth by diuerſe y^t the E. of Effex, his reſtraynte here, is the cauſe that Tyrone is gone owte agayne. to this I anſwere that it cannot poſſible be. ffor the E. of Effex came to the Courte vppon the xxvijth daye of September, beinge Michalmas eve, and vppon Michallmas daye, beinge the xxixth of the ſame month, Tyrone havinge ſpeeche wth WARREN y^t before it were longe, he wold haue a ſhare in England, and they ſhold ſee him there, little to there comfortes. ſo that this beinge ſpoken, the next daye, it can not be p^rſumed that he had newes from hence, vnles by the winges of Angells: And wthin a little while after in diuerſe of there churches by comaundm^t from Tyrone, Maſſe was ſaid. ſo

that not his restraynte heere, but his dep'ture from thence, and havinge the Countreye so vnprovided of gou'no^{rs} was the occasion of thes difasters, we^h have happened since his Cominge over. [Rest of page blank and five pages following.]

NOTES.

[For notice of preceding Narrative as elsewhere given, see our *Introduction*. As before, these memorials of names that occur may be acceptable; and on ROBERT, Earl of Essex, the chief object of attack in this Star-Chamber Council, consult the *Lives of the Devereux*, as before.

Buckhurst, Lord High Treasurer, and Oxford, Lord Great Chamberlain, see Notes to Trial of Essex.

EGERTON, SIR THOMAS, knt., became Lord Keeper 6th May 1596, and continued such till near his death. He was created Lord ELLESMERE 19th July 1603, and Viscount Brackley 7th November 1616. He died 15th March 1616-17, having resigned the Great Seal about a fortnight before. He was buried in Doddleston, Cheshire.

O'NEILL, HUGH, Earl of Tyrone, which title was confirmed to him by charter 10th May 1587, but which he discarded when he threw off his allegiance to Elizabeth, and styled himself "the O'Neill." After numerous successes against the Queen's armies, he was overpowered in 1603, and finally fled to the Continent. He died at Rome, blind and old, 20th July 1616, and was buried in the Church of San Pietro Montorio.

NORTH, SIR ROGER, second BARON NORTH. He was an Ambassador and Treasurer of the Household to Q. Elizabeth; ancestor of the Earls of Guilford. He died 3rd December 1600. Other names already noticed.

Note that *supra* (page 37, line 25), the "difaster of our succeffes" is = defeat of anticipated successes. G.]

My Lo. Keeper to y^e Earle Marshall.

MY good Lo. it is often seene that he that standeth by seethe more then he that plaieth the game, and so for the most p'te evrie one in his owne cause standeth in his owne light and seethe not so clearlie as he shoulde: Yo^r Lo. hath dealte in other mens causes and in greate and weightie affairs wth greate wisdom and Judgem^t. nowe yo^r owne is in hand, yo^w are not to contrarie or refuse the advise of those that love yo^w (howe simple foever) In this order I range my selfe amongst others that love yo^w, none more simplie and none that loveth yo^w wth more true and honest affection; w^{ch} shall pleade my excuse if yo^w shold either mislyke or misconsture my wordes or meaninge. But in yo^r Lo. honorable wisdom I neither doubte the one nor suspec^te the other. I will not p'fume to advise yo^w but I shoote my bowlte and tell yo^u what I thinke. The begininge and continuance of this vnseasonable discontentment yo^w haue seene and p'ved, by w^{ch} yo^w may ayme at the ende yf yo^w hold still this course, w^{ch} hitherto yo^w finde worse and worse and the longer yo^w goe the further owte of the waye: there is little hope or likelihoode that the ende wilbe better. yo^w are not yet gone soe farr but yo^w may well retorne: the retorne is safe, the p'gresse daungerous and desp'ate: In this co'se yo^w holde if yo^w haue any enemyes yo^w doe that for them that they cannot doe for themselves. Yo^r ffreindes yo^w leave open to skorne and contempt & yo^w forsake yo^r selfe and overthrowe yo^r fortunes and ruinate yo^r hono^r and reputacon: Yo^w give that comforte and inco^ragem^t to

the forraine enemye as greater they cannot have. for what can be more welcome and pleasinge newes to them then to heare that her Mat^{tie} is maymed of foe worthy a member, whoe hathe foe often and so valiantlye quelled and daunted them. Yow forsake yo^r countrie when it hathe most neede of yo^r Counsell and helpe and lastely yow fayle of yo^r most indissoluble duty w^{ch} yow owe vnto yo^r most gracious soueraigne a duty not imposed vpon yow by nature and pollicy onely but by the Religious and sacred bond wherein the Mat^{tie} of th'allmightye, hath by the rule of Christianity obliged yow: ffor the fower first, p'haps yo^r constant resolucon may move yow to esteeme as lighte, but beinge well wayed, they are not lighte nor lightlye to be regarded; and for the twoe last, it may be the clearenes of yo^r owne inwarde conscience may seeme to content yo^r self: But that is not enough, thes duties stande not all in Contemplacon or inward meditacon, and cannot be p'formed but by externall accons and when that faileth the substance faileth. This beinge yo^r p'sent estate and condicon, what is to be done, what is the remedye? My good Lo. I will never want an honest true harte to wishe well, nor (beinge warranted by a good conscience) feare to speake what I thinke I haue begonne simplie: be not offended, I preache foe, *Bene cedit qui cedit temporis*, and Seneca sayd *Lex si nocentem punit cedendū est Iusticiā, si Innocentem Fortuna*, the medicyne or remedye is not to strīve or contemne but humbly to yeelde and submitt; haue yow given cause and yet take scandall to yow? then all that yow can doe is to[o] little to make satisfacon. Is cause of scandall given to yow yet pollicie, duty and religion enforcethe yow to yeilde & submitt to yo^r sou'aigne, betweene whome and yow there can be noe equall p'porcon of dutye, where god requires it as principall dutye, and care to him selfe. And when it is evident that greate good may ensue of it, to yo^r freindes, yo^r self, yo^r Countreye and Sou'aigne: extreame harme to the Contrarye, there can be noe dishono^r but in denyinge dishono^r and impyetic. the difficulty my good Lo. is to conquer yo^r self, w^{ch} is the heichte of all trewe valor and fortitude.

Wherevnto all yo^r honorable accons have tended. Doe it in this and god wilbe pleased, her Mat^{tie} I doubte not well fatisfyed, yo^r Country will take good and yo^r freindes comfote by it, and yo^rselfe (I mencon yo^w laft ffor of all this yo^w esteeme yo^r self leaste) shall receave hono^r and yo^r enemyes (yf yo^w have any) shalbe disapointed of there bitter sweete hope: I have delivered what I thinke simplye and plainelye, and leave yo^w to determyne accordinge to yo^r wisedome. If I haue erred it is *Error amoris* not *amor erroris*. Co[n]fute and accepte it (I befeeche yo^w) as I meane yt, not as an advife but as an opinion.

NOTE.

[“My Lord Keeper” was Sir Thomas Egerton, as before; and the “Earl Marshall” was Essex (probably). The next to him was Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester, appointed in 1603. G.]

*The Queene's Letter sent to my Ladye Norrice
to comforte her for the deathe of her
sonne in Irelande.*

ALTHOUGH we have deferred longe to p^resent to yo^w o^r greived thoughtes, because we liked full ill to make yo^w the firste reflexion of o^r misfortunes, whome we haue allwaies foughte rather to cherishe and comforte, yet knowinge that necessitie must bringe to yo^r eares & nature consequentlye move passions in yo^r harte, wee resolved noe longer to smother either o^r care for yo^r sorrowe or the sympathy of o^r greife for his death wherein y^e societie in sorrowe may worke diminution. We doe assure [yo^w] by this true messenger of o^r mynde y^t nature can haue stirred noe more dolours of affection in yo^w as a mother for a deare sonne, then the gratefullnes and memorye of his service past hath wroughte in us his sou'aigne, app^rhension of o^r mysse of so worthye a servant. But nowe y^t [in] nature his comon worke is done and he that was borne to dye hath payd his tribute, let that Christian discretion staye the flux of yo^r imoderate greivinge w^{ch} hathe instructed yo^w both by example & knowledge, that nothinge of this kinde hath happened but by gode's p^rovidence, and let these lynes from yo^r lovinge & gracious sou'aigne serve to assure yo^w y^t there shall ever appeare the livelye CHARACTERS of yo^w and yo^{rs} that are beste in o^r valewinge rightelye all their faithfull and honest indevo^{res}: Nowe at this tyme we will not wryte of this vnfilent subiecte but haue

dispatched this gent. to visitt both yo^r Lorde and yo^w to condole wth yo^w in the true sence of yo^r Love and to pray yo^w that the worlde may see what tyme curethe in weak myndes that discretion & moderacon he hopeth in yo^w in this accident, wheare there is the fitt occasion to demonstrate true patience and moderacon.

NOTE.

[HENRY NORREYS, of Wytham, Berks., was summoned to Parliament 8th May 1572 as Baron Norreys, of Rycote. His wife — to whom the above letter was written—was Margery, dau. and coheir of John, Baron Williams, of Thame, co. Oxon. Their eldest son, Francis, subsequently became Viscount Thame and Earl of Berkshire. Lord Norreys died in 1600. Their second son (of this letter) was an eminent soldier. He was President of the Council of Munster. *G.*]

My Ladye Rich to y^e Queene.

EARELY did I hope this morninge to have had myne eyes blessed wth yo^r mat^e's Beawties, but seeinge the same de'pte into a cloude and meetinge wth spirittes w^{ch} did pr[']age [=prefage] by the wheelles of theire Chariottes some thund^{rs} in the ayre, I must complaine and expresse my feares to y^t highe matⁱe and devine ORACLE from whence I receaved a doubtfull answere, vnto whose power I must sacrificize again the teares and prayers of the afflicted y^t must dispaire in tyme if it be to[o] late to importune heaven when we feele the miseries of Hell or that worde directed to yo^r sacred wisedome shold owte of season be delivered, for my infortunate brother, whome^a all men have libertie to defame as if his offence were capitall & he so base deiected a creature y^t his love, his lyfe, his service to yo^r beauties & the State had deserved noe absolucon after so hard prison'm^t or so much as to answere in yo^r sacred p[']fence, who would vouch safe more Justice & favor then he can expecte of p[']tiall Judges, or those combyned enemyes that labor vppon false groundes to buylde his ruyne, vrginge his faultes as criminall to yo^r Devine honor, thinkinge it a heaven to blasphemee heaven, when their owne p[']ticular mallice and counsell have practized onelye to glutt themselves in there owne private revenge, not regardinge yo^r service or losse so much as their ambitious endes to rise by his overthrowe, and I haue reason to app^rhend that yf yo^r faire handes doe not checke the course of their vnbridled hate, that the last course wilbe his last breathe, since the evill Instrument^{tes}

^{wch} by their officeouse cuninge p'vide for the ffeast, have sufficient poyson in their hartes to infect: the service they will seeme shalbe easie to digest till it be tasted and then it will p've a p'parative of great^e mischiefe, concealed amonge such reactive workemen as will not onelie pull downe all the obstacles of their greatnes, but when they are in their full strength, like the GYANTS make warr against heaven. But yo^r Matie's gracious conclusion in givinge hope of a voyder, is all the comforte I haue, ^{wch} if yo^w hasten not before he take a full surfeite of disgrace, they will say the spottes they haue layd vppon him are to[o] fowle to be washed awaye and so his blemish^t reputacon must disable him for ever f'vinge againe his sacred Goddesse, whose excellent beauties and p'fections will never suffer those faire eyes to retorne soe farr from compassion, but at the least that yf he may not retorne to the happines of his former f'vice, to live at the feete of his admired m'^{tres} yet he may sett downe in private life, wthowte the imputacon of Infamy: that his posterity maye not repent their fathers were borne of so harde destinies, twoe of them p'ishinge by beinge employed in one Counterie, where they wold haue done yo^w f'vice to the sheddingde of their last bloode, if they had not beene wounded to deathe behinde by faction, that care not one [=on] whose necke they uniuertlie buylde the walles of their owne fortunes, ^{wch} I feare will growe more daungerously highe then is yet discour'd yf God doe not hind^{er} the worke as the Tower of Babell and confound their tounge that vnderstand one another to[o] well. And lastlie since owte of yo^r matie's owne princely nature and vnsteined vertue there must needes appeare that vertue is not farr from such a beautie, I most humble besech yo^w make it yo^r owne worke and not to suffer those to take advantage that lye in ambushe thinkinge soe soone as they discour^r a relentinge and compassion in yo^r worthy mynde, to take the hono^r vppon them as meanes of o^r salvacon, Not owte of Charitie but pride, that all must be attributed to them and yo^r sacred clemency abused by forcinge vs to goe throughe purgatorye to heaven. But let yo^r ma^{ties} devine power be noe more

eclipsed then yo^r beauty w^{ch} hath shined throughe all the world,
and ymitate the higheft in not destroyinge those that trust onely
in your mercye, wth w^{ch} humble request I p[']fume to kis yo^r fayrest
handes vowinge the obedience and endles Love of

Yo^r matie's most dutifull
and Loyall Servant

P. R.

This letter beinge shewed at the Counsell tabell and willed to
make exposicon thereof and what she mente by it I answered
p[']fentlie what I ment I wrott and what I wrott I mente. P. R.

NOTE.

[These initials P. R. (= Penelope Rich) point to one scarcely less
brilliant while scarcely less ill-fated than her brother (Robert), Earl of
Essex. See note on next letter. G.]

To her Matie.

FROM a minde delitinge in forowe, from spirettes wasted
 with passion, from a harte torne in peeces with Care, greife &
 travyle, from a man that hateth himselfe & all thinges that
 keepe him aliue, what f'vice can I yo^r Matie reape, since my f'vice
 past deserves noe more then banishment & p'scription in the
 Curfed of all Countryes, nay it is yo^r Rebelles pride & succeffe
 that must give leaue to ransome my life out of this hatefull
 prison of my bodye, w^{ch} yf it happen foe yo^r matie shall haue no
 cause to mislike the fashion of my deathe, although the course of
 my life colde neuer please you.

Yo^r matie's exilde f'vant

Rob: Effex.

NOTE.

[See our collection of the Poems of Robert, Earl of Essex, in our *Miscellanies* of the FULLER WORTHIES' LIBRARY, wherein is a short copy of Verses to ELIZABETH, in all probability enclosed in the above letter — given also onward in the present Volume. Compare our Works of Fulk Greville, Lord Brooke, for notices of PENELOPE RICH of the letter preceding this. G.]

My Lo. Mountioye to the Earle of Effex.

BY my occasion of beinge at the Courte, I did observe that
w^{ch} I was forye & glade to see, a Courte naked wthout yo^w
& yet not wthout a longinge desire to haue yo^w there agayne.
I hard by others how clerely M^r Secretary hath made report of
yo^r Lo. good f^rvice in Counsell, how well her Ma^{tie} liked of it
p^rtestinge that yo^w wold doe better for others then for yo^r selfe.
By some speeches wth M^r Secretarie I sawe bothe his opinion
that all might & would be well & his disposition to doe the best
offices that lay in him, notwth standinge yo^r Lo. harde Conceite
of him for some thinges, whereof yf nothinge old wold satisfie yo^r
Lo. he did not doubt but tyme wold Cleare him. her Ma^{tie}
never vsed me wth greater grace, but yet so that I might playnlye
see her Comendations of my kindnes & Care to please her, to be
a secret Complayntiffe that she Could not finde the like wher she
most desired. I knowe howe vnfytt^s I am to advise one wiser
then my selfe in this cause, where yo^r hono^r is more deere vnto
you then yo^r lyfe, but yet may it please yo^r honor to Consider
theise Circumstances: She is yo^r Sou^raigne wth whom you may
not beate vppon wth equall conditions. She denyethe the grounde
of yo^r difference, w^{ch} is a kinde of satisfaction. by all liklyhood
she would be glad to meete you halfe waye, yf that w^{ch} dothe not
nowe a lyttle trouble her, shold further distemper her vppon
whofe life & healthe you knowe howe many depende. I am
assured it wolde be a greater greife vnto yo^w then the losse of her
hand. for the other side that w^{ch} you feele (as Ma^r Cecell &

other yo^r ffriendes at Courte do wifelye fore fee) Can be noe benifytt, for admytt you drawe her to forgett her power & to yeald in her affection to that w^{ch} she is vnwillinge to doe, yo^r peace Cannot be wthout matter of difference. In so much as she will hardly forgett to what vnequall Condicons you brought her. wher as yf you preuent her in kindnes & yeald to her (to whom ther is noe disperagement to yelde to her will) all circumstances confidered, yo^w shall be nothings vnworthye yo^r selfe, yo^w shall make a sure peace & Come wth more ease to it, w^{ch} I take to be yo^r owne ende; I grant yo^r wronge to be greater then foe noble a hart can digeste, but Consider my good Lorde, howe great she is wth whome you deale, howe willinge, wth howe lyttle yealdinge to be conquered, what advantage yo^w have by yealdinge when you are wronged, what disadvantage by forcing her, whome thoughe you deserve never so muche you must relye vppon for [illegible]: howe stronge you shall make yo^r enemyes, howe weake yo^r ffreindes & howe p^voked patience turnethe into furye & delayed anger into hatred. what opertunitye her late lose and state, p^sent necessitye may giue you to benifytt yo^r selfe & yo^rs, and lastlye what offence the world (that honoreth yo^r vertues) may take, when they shall finde that to rite yo^r selfe yo^w neglecte her. but this is all in loue. I refere it to yo^r better Judgment & onelye advise that what soever peace yo^w make yo^w vse not other means but yo^r selfe which will be more honorable for yo^w and more acceptable to her.

NOTE.

[CHARLES BLOUNT, eighth Baron MOUNTJOY, succeeded his brother William in 1594, and was created Earl of Devonshire 21st July 1603. He had seduced Penelope, sister of the Earl of Essex and wife of Robert, Lord Rich, but subsequently married her after a divorce had been obtained. He died 3rd April 1606, leaving no legitimate issue, and his titles became extinct. G.]

Mr ffancis Bacon to my Lord Henry Howarde.

MY Lorde, ther are verye fewe besides yo^r felfe to whome I would p^rforme this respect, for I Contemne MENDACIA FAMAE, as It walkes amongst inferyors, though I neclect it not as it may haue entrance into some eares. for yo^r Lo. love rooted vppon good opinion, I esteeme it heighlye, because I haue tasted of the sweetes of it & we bothe haue tasted of the bytter water in my account to knitte myndes together.

Ther is shaped a tale in a lewde forge that beates apace at this tyme, that I shold deliu^r an opinion to the Queene in the Lo. of Effex Cause: ffirst that it was p^rmunire & nowe last that it was heigh treason & this opinion to be in opposition & encounter of the Cheefe Justices opineon & the Attornye generall.

My Lo. I thanke god my witte servith me not to deliu^r an oppinion to the Queene w^{ch} my stomake serveth not to mayntayne, one & the same Conscience of dutye, guidinge & fortifyinge me. But the vntruth of the ffable god and my Sou^reigne Can witnes & ther I leave it, knowinge noe other re^dedye [=remedy] agaynst lyes then others doe agaynst Lybells.

The roote of it noe doubt is some light headed p^rson envyinge at my accessses to her Ma^{tie}, w^{ch} beinge begone & Continewed since Childhood, as longe as her Ma^{tie} shall thinke me worthy, I sorne those that shall thinke the Contrarye. And an other thinge is the Aspersion of this tale and the envye thereof vppon some greater man in respecte of my meanes.

And therefore my Lo. I humblye praye yo^r answer for me to

any p'fone that yo^w fhall thinke worthy, yo^r reple & my defence ffor my Lo. of Effex, I am not fervile to hime, havinge regarde to my fuperio^r dutye, I haue beene much bownd to him & on the other fide, I doe p'tefte before god, I haue fpent more thoughtes & more tyme about his well doinge then ever I did about my owne. I praye god yo^w his ffreindes amongft yo^w be in ther right, *Nulla remedia tam faciunt dolorem quam quæ funt falutaria*, for my p'te I haue deferued better then to haue my name obiected to envye, my life to a Ruffen's violence. But I haue the priue Coate of a good Confcience and am fure theife Courfes & Brutes hurt my Lo. more then all.

Soe hauinge written to yo^r Lo. in freedome, I exceedinglye defire to be p^referved in yo^r good opinion & Love, & foe Leave you to godes goodnes.

30 december 1599.

NOTE.

[First published in Rawley's *Resuscitatio*, Supplement, p. 100; and fince often. Consult Spedding's *Bacon: Life and Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 161-2. There are flicht verbal differences in our prefent text. G.]

My Lo. Hen. Howarde to Mar ffrancis Bacon.

I MOUGHT be thought vnworthye of that good Conceyte yo^w holde of me (good M^r Bacon) If I did not sympathize wth foe sensitive a minde in this smarte & wrongfull imputation of vnthankfulnes; yo^w weare the first that gave me notice I p^teste at Ritchmonde of the rumor, thoughe w^{hin} two dayes after I harde more then yo^w deserve. foe can I not beleeeve what the greedye malice of the world hathe layed on yo^w. The travile of that worthy gentleman on yo^r behalfe when yo^w stooode for a place of Creditt, The delight w^{ch} he hath ever taken in yo^r companye, his greife that he could not seale vp assurance of his loue by fruites, effectes & offices p^portionable to an Infinit desire, his studye in my knowledge to engage yo^r love by the beste meanes he coulde devise, are forceable p^swasions & Instances to make me iudge, that a gentleman so well borne, a wise gentleman so well levelled, a gentleman foe heighly valewed by a p^son of his vertewe, worthy any quallitye, will rather hunt after all occasions of exprefinge thankfulness, so farr as dutye doth p^mitt, then either omitt op^tunitie or encrease Indignation. noe man aliue out of the thoughtes of Judgment, the groundes of Knowledge, and lessons of experience, is better able to distinguishe betweene publike and privat ofices & to directe measure in keepinge a measure in discharge of bothe, to w^{ch} I referr yo^w for the findinge out of the goulden nomber. In myne owne p^ticular opinion I esteeme of yo^w as I haue done euer & yo^r rare p^tes deserves & so fare as my voyce hath creditt accordinge to the warrant of yo^r

p'fession & the store of my best wifhes in all degrees toward yo^w.

My creditt is foe weake in workinge any strange effect of ffreindshipp wher I would doe most, as to speake of blossomes wthout givinge taste of fruites were Idlenes. but yf yo^w will give credit to my wordes, it is not longe since I gaue testimonye of my affection in the eare of one that neither wantes desiere nor means to doe it.

Thus wishinge to yo^r Creditt that allowance of respecte & reverence w^{ch} yo^r wife & honest letter dothe deserve and restinge ever readye to releeev all mindes so farre as my abilitie & means will stretche, that g'one vnder the burthen of vndeserved wronges, I commende yo^w to godes p'tection & my selfe to the beste vse that you will make of me. In haste from my lodgings.

Your lovinge and assured freinde to be
disposd of: Hen. Howard.

NOTE.

[HENRY HOWARD was second son of Henry, the celebrated Earl of Surrey (beheaded in 1547). His character does not stand well, albeit this is a very noticeable letter. He was subsequently created Earl of Northampton, but died unmarried 15th June 1614, and his titles became extinct. It does not appear that the present very remarkable and penetrative letter has been printed. It is not given in SPEDDING (see last Note). G.]

Sr Walter Raleigh to Sr Robert Car.

SR after many greate losses and many yeares of services, of both w^{ch} I haue cause to feare y^t I was mistaken in their endes, It is come to my knowledge that yo^r selfe (whome I knowe not but by an honorable fame) haue bin p^rsuaded to give me & mine o^r last fatall blowe, by obtayning from his Ma^{tie} the inheritance of my children & nephewes, lost in the law for want of a worde. this done, here remaines nothing wth me but y^e name of life, dispoyled of all else but y^e title & sorrow thereof. his ma^{tie}, whome I never offended (for I ever helde it vnnaturall & vnmanly to hate goodnes) stayed me at y^e graue's brinke, not (as I hope) y^t his Ma^{tie} thought me worthy of many deathes & to beholde all mine cast out of y^e worlde, wth my selfe, but as a Kinge iudging the poore in truth, hath receyved a p^rmise from God y^t his throne shall be established for ever. And for my selfe, S^r, feing yo^r faire day is but now in y^e dawne & mine drawne to y^e endinge, yo^r owne vertue & y^e Kinge's grace assuring you of many good fortunes & much hono^r, I beseech you not to begin yo^r building upon y^e ruines of y^e Innocent, & y^t their & mine sorrowes may not attende yo^r first plantation. I haue bin ever bounde to y^r nation as well for many other graces as for their true report of my tryall to y^e Kinge's ma^{tie}, against whome had I bin founde malignant, the hearing of my cause woulde not haue changed enemies into freindes, malice into compassion, & y^e mindes of the greatest number p^rsent into y^e consideration of my estate. It is not in the nature of foule treason

to beget futch faire passions, neither coulde it agree wth y^e dutye & loue of faithfull subiects (especially of yo^r nation) to bewaile his ouerthrowe y^t had conspired against their most liberall & naturall lorde. I therefore trust S^r you will not be the first y^t shall kill vs outright, roote downe y^e tree wth y^e fruites & vndergoe the curse of them y^t enter into y^e fieldes of the fatherlesse (w^{ch} if it please you to knowe the truth ar farre lesse fruitfull in valew then in fame) but that so worthy a gentleman as yo^r selfe will rather binde vs to yo^r service, being Sir, gentlemen not base in birth & alyance, w^{ch} haue interest therein, and my selfe wth my vttermost thankfulnes will ever remaine ready

To obey yo^r comandement.

NOTE.

[The present and succeeding letter of RALEIGH are printed with care in EDWARDS' very admirable *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh* (2 vols. 8vo, 1870), in their places. But see remarks on our text of them in our *Introduction. G.*]

Sr Walter Raleigh to his Wife.

YOU shall receiue (my deare wife) my last wordes in these my last lines. My loue I sende you y^t you kepe it when I am deade, and my counsell y^t you may remember it when I am no more. I woulde not wth my will present you sorrowes (Deare Beffe) let them go to y^e grownde wth me, and be buried in y^e dust, And seing it is not y^e will of God, y^t ever I shoulde see you more in this life, beare my destruction gently, & wth a heart like my selfe. First I sende you all y^e thanks my heart can conceive or my wordes expresse for your many troubles & cares taken for me, w^{ch} though theye have not taken effect, as you wished, yet my debt to you is not y^e lesse, but pay it I never shall in this worlde. Secondly, I beseech you for y^e loue you beare me living y^t you do not hide your selfe many daies, but by your travaile seeke to helpe your miserable fortune, & y^e right of your poore childe. your mourning cannot availe me y^t am but dust. Thirdly, you shall vnderstand y^t my landes were conveied BONA FIDE to my childe. the writinges were drawn at Midfommer was a tweluemonth, (as divers can witnesse,) and I trust y^t my bloud will quench their malice y^t desire my slaughter & y^t they will not seeke also to kill you and yours wth extreame pouerty. To what friende to direct you, I know not, for all mine haue left me in y^e trewe time of tryall. Most sorry I am (as God knoweth) y^t being thus surprised I can leaue you no better estate. I meant you all my office of wines, or y^t w^{ch} I coulde purchase by selling it, halfe my stufte & my iewels, but

some fewe for y^e boy, but God hath preuented all my determinations. the greate God y^t worketh all: but if you can liue free from want, care for no more, the rest is but vanity.

Loue God, and begin betimes to repose yo^r selfe on him. there in you shall finde trewe & lasting riches & endles comfortes. for the rest, when you haue travailed and wearied yo^r thoughtes over all fortes of worldly cogitations, you shall sit dolour by sorrowe in the ende.

Teach your sonne also to serue & feare God, whiles he is younge, y^t y^e feare of God may growe vp wth him. Then will God be a husbände vnto you, & a father vnto him y^t can never be taken from you.

Baylye oweth me 1000^l, Arion 600^l. In Gersey also, I haue much owing me. The arrearages of y^e wine will pay my debtes, And howsoever I beseech you for my soule's sake pay all poore men when I am gone.

No doubt but you shall be fought vnto, for y^e worlde does thinke y^t I am very rich. But take heede of y^e p^tences of men, & of their affections, for they last but in honest and worthy men, and no greater misery can befall you in this life then become a pray, and after to be despised. I speake it (God knoweth) not to diswade you from marriage, for y^t will be best for you, both in respect of God & y^e worlde. As for me I am no more yours, nor you mine: death hath cut vs asunder, and God hath devided me from y^e worlde and you from me.

Remember your poore childe for his father's sake, that comforted & loved you in his happiest times. I sued for my life, but (God knoweth) it was for you & yours y^t I desired it, for knowe it (deare wife) y^t your sonne is the childe of a trewe man, and who in his owne respect despiseth death, & all his mishapen and vgly formes.

I cannot write much, God knoweth how hardly I steale this time, when all sleepe, and it is time to separate my thoughtes from the worlde. Begg my deade body w^{ch} living was deemed yours, and either lay it in Sherborne, or in Exeter Church by

my father and my Mother. I can say no more, time and death call me away.

The everlasting, infinite, powerfull & inscrutable God y^t almighty God w^{ch} is goodnes it selfe, mercy it selfe, the trewe light and life, keepe you, and yours, and haue mercy vpon me, teach me to forgiue my p^rsecutors and false accusers, and sende vs to meete him in his glorious kingdome.

My trewe wife, farewell, God bleffe my pore boy, pray for me, my trewe God holde you both in his armes.

*To the right honourable his very good Lords the
Lords spirituall & Temporall in y^e vpper
house of Parliament assembled.*

MY very good Lords: I humbly pray yo^r Lo^{pps} all to make a favourable & trewe construction of my absence: It is no faining, nor fainting, but sicknes bothe of my harte & back, though ioynes wth this comfort of minde y^t p^rfwadeth me I am not farre from heauen, whereof I seek y^e first frui^tes: And because whether I liue or dye, I woulde be glad to p^rferue mine honour & fame, so farre as I am worthy, hearing y^t some complaintes of base bribery are come before yo^r Lo^{pps}, my request vnto yo^r Lo^{pps} is,

First y^t you will maintaine me in yo^r good opinion wthout preiudice vntill my cause be heard.

Secondly y^t in regard I haue sequestred my minde at this time in greate pt from worldly matters, thinking of my accompt & answere in a higher court, yo^r Lo^{pps} will giue me some conueniente time (according to y^e course of other Courts) to adwise wth my Counsell, & to make my aunswere, wherein nevery^e lesse my Counsels pt will be y^e least, for I shall not (by the grace of God) trick vp an innocency wth cauelations but plainly & righteously (as yo^r Lo^{pps} know my manner is) declare what I knowe or remember.

Thirdly, y^t according to y^e course of iustice, I may be alowed

to except to y^e witnessses brought against me & to moue questions to yo^r Lo.^{pps} for y^e crosse examination, and likewise to p^duce mine owne witnessses for discouery of y^e truth.

And lastly if there come any more petitions of like nature that yo^r Lo.^{pps} woulde be pleased not to take any of them, especially against a iudge y^t makes 2000 decrees & orders in a yeare, not to speake of y^e courses y^t haue bin taken for hunting out complaints against me, but y^t I may aunswere them according to y^e rules of iustice severally & respectiuely.

These requestes, I hope appeare to yo^r Lo.^{pps} no other then iust, and so thinking my selfe happy to haue so noble Peeres, & reuerend Prelates to discerne of my cause, & desiring no priueledge of greatnes for subterfuge of guiltines, but meaning (as I say) to deale fairely & plainly wth yo^r Lo.^{pps}, & to put my selfe vpon yo^r Honours & favoure, I pray God to bleffe yo^r counsailes and yo^r persons.

Yo^r Lo.^{pps} humble servant
Fra. S^t Alban Can.

NOTE.

[The present letter and related papers of BACON have been repeatedly printed; but see our *Introduction* for remarks on our text. G.]

*To the right honourable the Lords of the Parliament in the Vpper house assembled.**The humble submission & supplication of the Lord Chancelor.*

IT may please yo^r Lo.^{pps} I shall humbly craue at yo^r Lo.^{pps} handes a benigne interpretation of y^t w^{ch} I shall now write: for wordes y^t come from wasted spiritts, & an oppressed minde ar more safe in being deposited in a noble construction, then in being circled wth a reserved caution. This being moved, & as I hope obteyned in the nature of a p^rtection to all y^t I shall say, I shall now make unto y^e rest of y^t where wth I shall at this time trouble yo^r Lor.^{pps} a very straunge entraunce. For in the midst of a state of as greate affliction as I thinke a mortall man can indure (honour being aboue life) I shall begin wth y^e p^rfessing of gladnes in some thinges. The first is that hereafter the greatnes of a iudge, or magistrate, will be no sanctuary, or p^rtection of guiltines, w^{ch} in few wordes is the beginning of a goulden worlde. The next y^t after this example it is like the iudges will flee from any thing y^t is in the likenes of corruption & though it were at a greate distance (as from a serpent) w^{ch} tendeth to y^e purging of y^e courtes of Justice, & reducing them to their true honour & splendor. And in these two pointes (God is my witnes) that though it be my fortune to be the anvill upon w^{ch} these good effects are beaten, and wrought, I take no small comfort.

But to passe from y^e motions of my harte (where of God is

my only iudge) to the meritts of my cause where of yo^r Lo.^{pps} are iudges vnder God, & his lieutenant, I do vnderstand there hath bin heretofore expected from me some iustification, and therefore I haue chofen one only iustification, instead of all others out of the Justifications of Job.

For after the cleare submission & confession w^{ch} I shall now make vnto yo^r Lo.^{pps}, I hope I may say and iustify wth Job in these wordes, 'I haue not hid my sinnes as did Adam, nor concealed my faultes in my bosome.' This is the only iustification I will vse. It resteth therefore (that wthout figg leaues) I doe ingenuously confesse & acknowledg, I having vnderstode the p'ticulers of the charge not formerly [=formally?] from the house, but inough to informe my conscience & memory, I finde matter sufficient, and full, both to moue me to desert the offence, and to moue yo^r Lo.^{pps} to condemne and censure me.

Neither will I trouble yo^r Lo.^{pps} by singling those p'ticulers w^{ch} I thinke may fall of, *Quid te exempta inuat spinis de pluribus vna*, neither will I prompt your Lo.^{pps} to obserue vpon the profes where they come not home, nor the scruples touching the creditts of the wittneses, neither will I represent to yo^r Lo.^{pps} how farre a defence might in diuers thinges extenuate the offence in respect of y^e time, or of y^e manner of the guilt, or the like circumstances, but only leaue those thinges to springe out of yo^r owne noble thoughtes and obseruations of y^e euidence & examinations themselues, charitably to winde about the p'ticulers of the charge here & there, as God shall put into yo^r mindes, and so submit my selfe wholly to yo^r piety and grace.

And now y^t I haue spoken to yo^r Lo.^{pps} as Judges, I shall say a few wordes to you as Peeres and Prelats, humbly comēding my cause to yo^r noble mindes & magnanimous affections.

Yo^r Lo.^{pps} are not simply iudges, but Parliamentary iudges, you haue a further extent of arbitrary power then other Courtes, and if yo^r Lo.^{pps} be not tyed by y^e ordinary course or presidents in point of strictnes & seuerity, much more in point of mercy & mitigation. And yet if anything w^{ch} I shall moue might be con-

trary to yo^r honourable & worthy endes to introduce a reformation, I should not seeke it, but herein I beseech yo^r Lo.^{pps} to giue me leaue to tell you a story.

Titus Manlius tooke his sonnes life for giving battell against y^e prohibition of his generall. not many yeares after the like feuerity was pursued by Papirius Curfor y^e dictator against Quintus Maximus, who being vpon the point to be sentenced, by intercession of some principall persons of y^e Senate was spared, where vpon Liue maketh thus graue and gracious obseruation, *Neq. minus firmata est disciplina militaris periculo quinti Maximi, quam miserabili supplicio Titi Manlij*: The discipline of warre was no lesse established by y^e questioning of Quintus Maximus then by y^e punishment of Titus Manlius. And y^e same reason is of y^e reformation of Justice, for y^e questioning of men of eminent place, hath the same terror, though not y^e same rigor wth y^e punishment. But my case stayeth not there, for my humble desire is y^t his Ma^{tie} would take y^e seale into his handes, w^{ch} is a greate downefall, and may serue (I hope) in it selfe for an expiation of my fault. Therefore if mercy & mittigation be in yo^r power and do no way crosse yo^r endes, why shoulde I not hope for yo^r Lo.^{pps} fauour and comiseration. Yo^r Lo.^{pps} will be pleased to behoulde yo^r chiefe patterne the kinge our sou'aigne, a king of incomparable clemency, & whose harte is inscrutable for wisdome & goodnes. Yo^r Lo.^{pps} will remember that there sat not this hundred yeares before a Prince in yo^r house, and never such a Prince, whose presence deserveth to be made memorable by recordes, and acts mixt wth mercy & iustice. Yo^r selues ar either nobles (and compassion ever beateth in y^e vaines of noble blood) or reurende Prelats, who are y^e seruaunts to him y^t would not breake the brused reede, nor quench y^e smoking flaxe: you ar set vpon a high stage, and therefore cannot but be more sensible of y^e chaunges of y^e worlde, & of y^e fall of any high place. Neither will yo^r Lo.^{pps} forgett that there are *vitia temporis* as well as *vitia hominis*, and the beginning of reformations hath y^e contrary power to the Poole of Bethesda, for it had strength only to

cure him y^t was first cast in, & this hath comonly strength to hurt him only y^t is first cast in, & for my pt I wish it may stay there, and go no further.

Laftly, I assure my felfe yo^r Lo.^{pps} haue a noble feeling of me as a member of yo^r owne body, & one y^t in this very Seflion had fome taft of your loving affections, w^{ch} I hope was not y^e lightning before the death of them, but rather a sparke of y^t grace w^{ch} now in y^e conclufion will more appeare.

And therefore my humble fute vnto yo^r Lo.^{pps} is y^t my penitent fubmiffion may be my fentence, & y^e losse of y^e feale my punifhment, and y^t yo^r Lo.^{pps} will spare any further fentence, but recomende me to his Ma^{ties} grace and pardon for all y^t is paf. God's holy Spirit be amongft you.

22^o Aprilis 1621.

Yo^r lo^{pps} humble fervaunt and
fuppliant

Francis S^t Alban Chanc.

Verfes made upon Sr francifs Bacon
Viscount Verulam.

[The Editor very gladly embraces the opportunity of printing for the first time a contemporary Lament for Bacon—taken from a MS. collection formerly in the possession of LORD KINGSBOROUGH, and bound and mounted by the late Mr. HASLEWOOD in two folio volumes (624, vol. i. pp. 37-40). Unfortunately this pathetic, however rude, Lamentation is anonymous. It must be regarded by all as an acceptable supplement to these letters of Bacon. Throughout the original is scrupulously reproduced.]

WHEN you awake dull Brittons and behold
 What treasure you haue throwen into this mould,
 Your ignorance in pr'feruing of a State
 You shall confes, and that your rashnes (hate)
 For in a senceless fury you haue slaine
 A man farr beyond the spungy braine
 Of comon knowledg, as is heauen from hell
 And yett you triumphe, thinke you haue done well.
 O that this monster Multitude should fitt
 10 In place of Justice, Reason, Conscience, witt
 Nay in a throne or spheare aboue them all
 For 'tis a supreame power that can call
 All those to the barr, and with a frowning browe
 Make senatours, nay mighty consuls bowe.
 Bould Plebeans, the day will come I know

- When such as Cato, such as Cicero
Shalbe more worth then the first borne can be
Of all your ancestors or posterretye:
But he's not dead, youle say, O butt the foule
Once chekt, contrould, that use to controule
20 Coucheth his downy wings and scornes to fly
Att any game butt faire Eternety
Each spiritt is retyrèd to a rome
And made his liuinge boddy butt a tombe
On which such epitaphes may welbe reade
As would the gazer strike with forrowe dead
O that I could butt giue his worth a name
That if not you your fones might blush for shame:
Who in arethmeticke hath greatest skill,
30 His good parts cannot number, yett his ill
Cannot be cald a number, since tis knowne
He had butt few that could be cald his owne;
And those in other men, euen in these times
Are often praisd, and vertues callèd crimes.
But as in purest things, the smallest spott
Is foner seene then eyther staine or blot
In baser stufte, euen soe his chance was such
To haue of faults to[o] few, of worth to[o] much:
Soe by the brightnes of his owne clear light
40 The moates he had lay open to each sight.
If you would haue a man in all points good
You must not haue him made of flesh and blood;
An act of Parlement you must first setle
And force dame Nature worke on better mettle.
Some faults he had, no more then seemed to proue
He drew his line from Adame not from Joue;
And theyse small staines in Nature's firste offence
Like moones in armory weer, made difference
Twixt him and angels, being sure no other
Then marks to know him for theyr younger brother.

- 50 Such ſpotts remoud (not to prophane him then)
 Might well be cald a demy god mongſt men
 A diamond flawe, ſaphires or rubyes ſtaind
 But undervallued are, not quite deſdaind ;
 Which by a foile recouered, they then become
 As worthy of eſteeme, yeild no leſs ſome.
 The Gardner finding once a canker growne
 Upon a tree that he had fruitfull knowne
 Grubs it not up, but with a carefull hand
 Opens the roote, remoues the clay or ſand
 60 That cauſe the canker, or with cuning art
 Pares of ſome rine but comes not neere the hart :
 Only ſuch trees the axe's edg endures
 As neere bare fruite or elſe are paſt all cures.
 The prudent huſbandman thruſts not his ſheere
 Into the corne becauſe the weeds are there
 But takes his hooke and gently as he may
 Walkes through the ſeilde and pluckes them all away :
 A houſe of many roomes one may comāund
 Butt yett it ſhall require many a hand
 70 To keepe itt cleane, and if ſome filth be found
 Crept in through negligence, tis caſt to th' ground ?
 Fy on't ? But firſt the ſupreame owner comes
 Examins euery office, reuiues the romes [reviews]
 Makes them be clenſd and on a certaine paine
 Comaunds they neuer be foe found againe :
 The Temple elſe ſhould ouerthrowne haue been
 Becaufe ſo manny brokers weer therin ;
 The arke had funke and periſht in the flood
 Becaufe ſome beaſts crept in that weer not good ;
 80 Adame had with a thunderboulte been ſtrooke
 When he from Eue a goulden apple tooke ;
 Butt ſhould the Maker of mankind doe foe
 Whoe ſhould write man, who ſhould to man's ſtate growe ?

- Shall he be putt then to the extreames of Lawe
Because his conscience had a little flawe?
Will you want conscience cleare because that he
Stumbled or slipt butt in a small degree?
No, first looke backe to all your owne past acts
Then pass your censure, punish all the facts
90 By him committed, then Ile sweare he shall
Confess that you are upright Chancelors all
And for the time to come with all his might
Strive to out doe you all in doing right.
O would his predecessor's ghost appeare
And tell how foule his Master left the chayre,
How every fether that he satt upon
Infectious was, and that ther was no stone
On which some contract was not made to fright
The fatherles and widdowe from their right,
100 No stoole, no bord, no rush, no bench on which
The poore man was not fould unto the rich,
You would giue longer times the roomes to ayre
And what you now call foule you would thinke fayre:
He tooke, to keepe, tis knowne, thus butt to liue
He robd to purchase land, and this to giue,
And had he been but blest in oure comon treasure
He would haue giuen much more, with much more pleasure:
The Night's great lampe from the rich sea will take
To lend the thirsty land, and from each lake
110 That hath an overplus borrowe a share
Not to her owne use butt for to reaire
The ruines of some parcht and dried up hill;
Soe this unconstant plannett farr more ill
They cannot speake of him, tooke from some flood
Not for his owne use butt to doe others good;
Butt such misfortunes dogd his honest will
That what he tooke with wronge he gaue as ill;

- For those his bountye most, as all suppose
 Not those he iniured, prou'd his greatest foes.
 120 Soe foolish mothers from theyr wiser mates
 Oft filch and steale, weaken theyr owne estates
 To feed the humor of some wanton boy
 They silly weomen hoping to haue ioye
 Of this ranke plant when they are saples growne
 But feile or neuer hath it yett been knowne [feldom]
 That pampered youth gaue parents more releife
 Then what increast theyr age with paine & greife.
 Theyr ouer sight of nature, former times
 Haue rather pittied then condemned as crimes;
 130 Then wher is charrety become of late?
 Is her place begd? her office giuen to hate?
 Is there a patent got for her restraint?
 Or monopolly gaind by false complainte?
 If foe, pursue the patentees, for sure
 False information did the writt procure;
 The seale is counterfett, the referreyes
 Haue taken bribes; then first examine theise
 Restore faire Charrety to her place againe
 140 And he that suffers now may then complaine.
 Set her at Justice seete, and lett the poyse,
 By them directed bee and not by noyse.
 Lett them his merritts way with his offence [weigh]
 And you shall find a mighty difference;
 Rase not a goodly building for a toye
 Tis better to repaire then to destroye:
 You will not force his ashes to the urne:
 Tush, that's not it, himselfe, himselfe will burne
 When he butt finds his honour sounds retreat;
 150 Like a foule cage, himselfe to death will beate
 And leaue the world when theirs no helpe att all
 To figh and greiue for his untimely fall;

The skilfull surgeon cutts not of[f] a limbe
Whilst theer is hope. O deale foe then with him;
He wants not fortitude butt can indure
Cutting, incission, for they promiss cure;
Nay more, butt shew him wheer the eye fore stands
And he shall search and drefs with his owne hands;
Would you annatomise, would you defect
160 For your experience? O you may ellect
One of that house wheer you as judges fitt
Diuers for execution farr more fitt;
And when you find amongst, farr ouergrowne
With foule corruption, then lett him be throwne
Att Justice' feete let him be sacrafize;
Lett theer be new tortures, new plagues deuise
Such as may fright the liuing from like crimes
And be a president for after times
Which long had records to ensuing dayes
170 Shall still proclaime to your eternall praise.

Sr Walter Rawleigh to his Matie before his tryall.

IT is one pt of y^e office of a iust and worthy Prince to heare y^e complaintes of his Vassalls, especially of futch as are in greate misery. I know it amonge many other p^rsumptions gathered against me, your matie hath bin p^rswaded y^t I was one of them who were greatly discontented; and therefore y^e more likely to proue disloyall. But y^e greate God so releue me in both worldes, as I was the contrary. And I tooke as greate comfort to behoulde yo^r matie, and alwaies learning some good, and bettering my knowledge by hearing yo^r maties discorse. I do therefore beseech yo^r soveraigne matie not to beleue any of those in my p^rticular, who vnder p^rtences of offences to kinges, foe easily worke their p^rticular revenges. I trust no man vnder the colour of making examples shall p^rswade yo^r matie to leaue the worde mercifull out of yo^r stile, for it will no lesse p^rfect yo^r matie and become yo^r greatnes, then the worde invincible. It is true y^t the lawes of England ar no lesse ieaious of the Kinges then Cæsar was of Pompeia his wife, for notwthstanding that she was cleared of having accompanied wth Clodius, yet for being suspected he condemned her. ffor my selfe, I p^rtest before the eve[r] living God, and I speake to my master and my Soveraigne, that I never invented treason, consented to treason, nor p^rformed treason against him. And yet I know I shall fall in *eorum a quibus non possum*, vnlesse by yo^r maties greate compassion I be susteined. Our law therefore (most mercifull Prince) knowing her owne cruelty, and knowing y^t she is wont to compounde treasons

out of p'fumptions and circumstances, doth giue this charitable advice to the king, her superiour, *Non solum sapiens esse rex, sed et misericors vt cū sapientia misericordetur: sit iustus cū tutius sit reddere rationem misericordiæ quam iudicii.* I do therefore on y^e knees of my heart beseech yo^r Ma^{tie} to take counsaile from yo^r owne sweete and comfortable disposition, and to remember y^t I haue loved yo^r ma^{tie} 20^{tie} yeares, for w^{ch} yo^r Ma^{tie} hath yet giuen me no rewarde. And it is fitter I shoulde be indebted to my Soueraigne Lord, then the Kinge to his poore vassall. Saue me therfore most mercifull Prince, that I may owe yo^r ma^{tie} my life it selfe, then w^{ch} there cannot be a greater debt. Lende it me at least my Soueraigne Lorde, y^t I may pay it for yo^r service, when yo^r ma^{tie} shall please. If the law destroy me yo^r ma^{tie} shall put it out of your power, and I shall haue none to feare but the kinge of kinges.

*Sr Walter Raleigh to his Matie after
his condemnation.*

THE life w^{ch} I held, most mightie Prince, the lawe hath taken from me, and I am nowe but the same earth and dust out of w^{ch} I was framed. If myne offence had any p^rporcon wth yo^r Ma^{ties} mercy, I should not dispaire. If my cryme had any quallitie wth yo^r Ma^{ties} vnmeasurable goodnes, I might hope. But it is yo^r great Ma^{tie} that must iudge of both and not I. blood, name, gentrie, or estate, haue I none, noe not soe much as a beeing, noe not soe much as *vita plantæ*. I haue onlie a penitent fowle in a body of yron, w^{ch} moveth towards the loadstone of death, and cannott be wh^lheld from touching, except yo^r Ma^{ties} mercy turneth the point towards me w^{ch} expelleth. loſt I am for hearing a vaine man, for hearing onlie and never beleëving or approuing, and soe little account I made of that speech of his w^{ch} was my condempnacon (as the living god doth truly wittnes,) that I never remembred any such thing vntill it was at my tryall obiected against me. Soe did he repay my care (who cared to make him good w^{ch} I fee noe care of man cann effect) But god for myne offence towards him hath laid his heauie burthen vpon me, miserable and vnfortunate wretch that I am, but not for loving you my Sou^eigne hath god laid his sorrowe vpon me, ffor god knoweth wth whome I may not dissemble, that I honored yo^r Ma^{tie} by fame, and loved and admired you by knowledge. Soe whether I liue or die, yo^r Ma^{ties} true and loving servant I will live or die. If I nowe write that doth not become me most

mercifull Prince, vouchsafe to ascribe it to the Counsell of a dead hart, and to a mynd w^{ch} sorrowe hath broken, but the more my miserie is the more is yo^r Maties great mercy, if you please to be-hould it, And the lesse I maie deferue the more liberall is yo^r Maties gift. God onlie yo^r Matie shall ymetate therein both in giving freele, and by giving to such an one, from whom here cann be noe retribucon, but onlie a desire to repay a lent life, wth the same great loue w^{ch} the same great goodnes shall please to bestowe it. This being the first lre that ever yo^r Matie receaued from a dead man I humblie submytt my selfe to the will of my supream Lord, and shall willinglie and patientlie suffer whatfoeu^r shall please yo^r Matie to ympose vpon me.

W. R.

To his good freinde Sr Anth. Cooke.

HERE my Cameliſon Muſe her ſelfe doth chaunge
to diuers ſhapes of groſs abſurdities
and like an Antick mocks wth faſhion ſtraunge
the fond admirers of lewde gulleries.
Your iudgement ſees wth pittie, and wth ſcorne
The baſtard Sonnetts of theſe Rymers bace
W^{ch} in this whiſkinge age are daily borne
to their owne ſhames, and Poetrie's diſgrace.
Yet ſome praiſe thoſe and ſome perhappes will praiſe
euen theſe of myne : and therefore theſe I ſend
to you that paſſ in Courte yo^r glorious dayes
Y^t if ſome rich raſh gull theſe Rimes commend
thus you may ſett this formall witt to ſchoole
Uſe yo^r owne grace, and begg him for a foole.

J. D.

Gullinge Sonnets.

1 **T**HE Louer Vnder burthen of his M^{ris} love
W^{ch} lyke to Ætna did his harte oppresse :
did giue such piteous grones y^t he did moue
the heau'nes at length to pittie his distresse
but for the fates in their highe Courte aboue
forbad to make the greuous burthen lesse.
the gracious powers did all conspire to proue
Yf miracle this mischeife mighte redresse
therefore regardinge y^t y^e load was such
as noe man mighte wth one man's mighte sustayne
and y^t mylde patience imported much
to him that shold indure an endles payne :
By there decree he soone transformèd was
into a patiente burden-bearinge Affe.

2 As when y^e brighte Cerulian firmament
hathe not his glory wth black cloudes defas'te
Soe were my thoughts voyde of all discontent ;
and wth noe myste of passions ouercast
they all were pure and cleare, till at the last
an ydle careles thoughte forthe wandringe wente
and of y^t poysonous beauty tooke a taste
W^{ch} doe the harts of louers so torment :
then as it chauncethe in a flock of sheepe
when some contagious yll breeds first in one

daylie it spreedes & secretly doth creepe
 till all the filly troupe be ouergone.
 So by close neighbourhood wth in my breft
 one scuruy thoughte infecteth all the rest.

3 What Eagle can behould her sunbrighte eye,
 her sunbrighte eye y^t lights the world wth loue,
 the world of Loue wherein I liue and dye,
 I liue and dye and diuers chaunges proue,
 I chaunges proue, yet still the same am I,
 the same am I and neuer will remoue,
 neuer remoue vntill my foule dothe flye,
 my foule dothe fly, and I surcease to moue,
 I cease to moue w^{ch} now am mou'd by you,
 am mou'd by you y^t moue all mortall hartes,
 all mortall hartes whose eyes yo^r eyes doth veiwe,
 Yo^r eyes doth veiwe whence Cupid shoots his darts,
 whence Cupid shootes his dartes and woundeth those
 that honor you and neuer weare his foes.

4 The hardnes of her harte and truth of myne
 when the all feeinge eyes of heauen did see
 they streight concluded y^t by powre devine
 to other formes our hartes should turnèd be.
 then hers as hard as flynte, a Flynte became
 and myne as true as steele, to steele was turned
 and then betwene o^r hartes sprange forthe the flame
 of kindest loue, w^{ch} vnextinguish'd burned
 And longe the sacred lampe of mutuall loue
 incessantlie did burne in glory brighte
 Vntill my folly did her fury moue
 to recompence my seruice wth despighte
 and to put out wth snuffers of her pride
 the lampe of loue w^{ch} els had neuer dyed.

- 5 Mine Eye, myne eare, my will, my witt, my harte
did see, did heare, did like, discern, did loue :
her face, her speche, her fashon, iudgem^t, arte
wth did charme, please, delighte, confounde and moue.
Then fancie, humo^r, loue, conceipte, and thoughte
did foe drawe, force, intyse, perfwade, deuise,
that she was wonne, mou'd, caryed, compast, wrought
to thinck me kinde, true, comelie, valyant, wife ;
that heauen, earth, hell, my folly and her pride
did worke, contriue, labor, conspire and sweare
to make me scorn'd, vile, cast of, bace, defyed
Wth her my loue, my lighte, my life, my deare :
So that my harte, my witt, will, eare, and eye
doth greiue, lament, sorrowe, dispaire and dye.
- 6 The sacred Muse that firste made loue deuine
hath made him naked and wthout attyre
but I will cloth him wth this penn of myne
that all the world his fashon shall admyre.
his hatt of hope, his bande of beautye fine,
his cloake of crafte, his doblett of desyre,
greife for a girdell, shall aboute him twyne,
his pointes of pride, his Ilet holes of yre,
his hose of hate, his Cod peece of conceite,
his stockings of sterne strife, his shirte of shame,
his garters of vaine glorie gaye and flyte ;
his pantofels of passions I will frame,
pumpes of presumption shall adorne his feete [slipper-shoes]
and Socks of fullennes excedinge sweete.
- 7 Into the midle Temple of my harte
the wanton Cupid did himselfe admitt
and gaue for pledge yo^r Eagle-fighted witt
Y^t he wold play noe rude vncivill parte :

Longe tyme he cloak'te his nature wth his arte
 and fadd and graue and sober he did fitt
 but at the last he gan to reuell it,
 to breake good rules and orders to peruerte :
 Then loue and his younge pledge were both conuented
 before fadd Reason, that old Bencher graue,
 who this fadd sentence vnto him presented
 by dilligence, y^t flye and secreate knaue
 That loue and witt, for euer shold departe
 out of the midle Temple of my harte.

8 My cafe is this, I loue Zepheria brighte,
 Of her I hold my harte by fealtie :
 W^{ch} I discharge to her perpetuallie,
 Yet she thereof will neuer me accquite.
 for now supposinge I wth hold her righte
 she hathe distreinde my harte to satisfie
 the duty w^{ch} I neuer did denye,
 and far away impounds it wth despite ;
 I labor therefore iustlie to repleaue
 my harte w^{ch} she vniustly doth impounde
 but quick conceite w^{ch} nowe is loue's highe Sheife
 retornes it as esloynde, not to be founde
 Then w^{ch} the lawe affords I onely craue
 her harte for myne in wit her name to haue.

9 To Loue my lord I doe knightes seruice owe
 and therefore nowe he hath my witt in warde
 but while it is in his tuition foe
 me thincks he doth intreate it passinge hard ;
 for thoughe he hathe it marryed longe agoe
 to Vanytie, a wench of noe regarde,
 and nowe to full, and perfect age doth growe
 Yet nowe of freedome it is most debarde.

But why should loue after minoritye
when I am past the one and twentieth yeare
perclude my witt of his sweete libertye
and make it still y^e yoake of wardshippe beare.
I feare he hath an other Title gott
and holds my witt now for an Ideott.

Mr Dauyes.

NOTE.

[There seems no question that these are hitherto unprinted Sonnets by Sir John Davies, the Poet of *Nosce Teipsum*. See our *Introduction* for remarks on them. The Sir Anthony Cooke to whom these Sonnets are dedicated descended from the Sir Anthony who was Preceptor to King Edward VI., and for Letters by whom the Reader may consult the "Reformation" Correspondence of the Parker Society. His daughter Mildred was second wife of Lord Burleigh, and his daughter Anne was mother of Bacon. His son and heir Richard Cooke died in 1579, and was succeeded by his son Anthony (our Sir Anthony), who was knighted in 1596 by the Earl of Essex at the sacking of Cadiz. He was buried at Romford, Essex, on the 28th December, 1604. G.]

Of a Painted Lady.

I S'T for a grace, or is't for some dislike?
 where others giue y^e lipp, you giue the cheeke.
 Some houlde it for a pride of your behaiour,
 But I do rather count it as a favour.
 Wherefore to shew my kindnesse & my loue
 I leaue both lipps & cheeke and kisse your gloue.
 Now what's the cause? to make you full acquainted,
 your glou's perfum'd, your lipps & cheekes be painted.

We maddames that fucus vse
 greatly muse
 That being ripe fruite yee do not pluck vs.
 Since characters redd & white
 plainly write¹

¹ [What follows is obliterated. G.]

Sr John Harrington to Quee. Eliza.

D READ Soueraigne & ever Loving Prince
you redd a verse of mine a little since
And so pronounc'd each worde and every Letter
your gracious reading made y^e verse much better.
Then since your Mat^{tie} wth guifts exceeding
Can what you reade make better by y^e reading
Let my poore Muse your Grace so farr importune
To leaue to read my verse, and read my fortune.

NOTE.

[HAZLITT'S *Bibliography*, s.n., and the like, furnish title-pages of a number of Sir John Harrington's Verse-attempts. Like SIR A. COCKAINE (who by some strange oversight is omitted by Hazlitt), his (so-called) Poetry is of interest mainly from allusions to contemporary persons, places and events. Yet are some of his Epigrams not without scintillations of antithetic wit, nor his heroic verse altogether lacking in sonorousness. His *Brief View of the State of the Church of England* (1653), has vitality still, from its personal portraiture of the dignitaries. G.]

Of y^e losse of time. Par J. Hoskins.

IF life be time y^t here is spent
 and time on earth be cast away
 Who so his time hath here mispent
 hath haftned his owne dying day.
 So it doth proue a killing crime
 to massacre our living time.

If doing nought be like to death,
 of him y^t doth Camelion wife
 take only paines to draw his breath
 the passers by may pasquilize
 not here he liues : but here he dyes.

Of one y^t had stolne much out of Seneca.

PUT of thy buskins Sophocles y^e greate,
 and mortar treade wth thy disarmèd shankes.
 for this man's heade hath had a happier sweate,
 whereof y^e worlde doth conn him little thanks.
 Blufh Seneca to see thy feathers loofe,
 pluckt from a Swann stuck vpon a goose.

J. H.

[Dreams.]

YOU nimble dreames wth cobweb winges
that fly by night from braine to braine
and represent a worlde of thinges
with much a doe & little paine :
you y^t finde out such easie waies
through every strongest gate & wall,
y^t nowe your passage spies or staies
not iealousye y^t watcheth all.
you visit ladies in their beds
and are most busy in their case.
you moue such fancies in their heads,
you make them thinke on what yo^u please.
how highly am I bounde to you
safe messenger of Secrecie
that made my M^{is} thinke on me
iust in y^e place where I would be.
O y^t you woulde my self preferre
to be in place of one of you
to goe one night & visite her
then she might sweare her dreames were trewe.
Yea trewe indeede, constant & fuer
that truth it self shoulde not be trewer.

J. H.

His melancholy.

L OUE is a foolish melancholy
 leading y^e minde wth false perwasion,
 else w^{ch} way coulde I see my folly
 that loose whole time to gaine occasion.
 Cupid is stronge forsooth they say,
 his strength is but imagination.
 y^t doth mistake for reason's sway
 the rash cōmande of idly passion.
 My loue is almost lunacye,
 me thinkes my hart is so on fire
 that though my M^{ris} sende for me
 I dare not for my life come nye her.
 me thinkes loue's sparckles so would start
 and at her sight giue forth such flame
 y^t standers by woulde see my harte,
 and by y^e light there reade my name.
 Then best to challenge her alone,
 though to accept it she be loath
 the match is equall, one to one,
 and solitude will right vs both.
 But having her alone I finde
 some greater thing then speach to doe
 though y^t perhaps would ease my minde
 were it not losse of time to wooe.

Alone or elfewhere all's in vaine
for every time y^t yet we meete
was but a cause to meete againe
for somewhat y^t I did forget :
I will not loue, & yet I will
for feare leaft I cleaue of a loofer ;
I must not let my fute lye still
leaft some man speede beside y^t woos her.
Swet loue the god, or loue the boy
make her wooe me if y^t he can,
let god or boy teach her y^e toy
I'le fay at leaft he is a man.

M^r Hoskins.

NOTE.

[DR. HANNAH in his masterly paper on Elizabethan Poetry in the *British Critic* (on which see our *Introduction*), has given some interesting notices of Hoskins, author of the four preceding poems. Thither and to Bliss's *Wood's Athenæ* and *Fasti* s.n., the reader is referred. Wood tells us egregiously that Hoskins was "the most ingenious and admired poet of his time, and therefore much courted by the ingenious men then living;" and again, "Few or none published books of poetry, but did celebrate his memory in them," and "fewer but did lay them at his feet for approbation before they went to the press." Further, "he polished Ben Johnson the poet and made him speak clean, whereupon he ever after called their author father Hoskyns," &c. &c. &c. A MS. of poems of Hoskins, "bigger than those of Dr. Donne," early went amissing. I fear its recovery would not be any great gain. Hoskins became famous as a Lawyer. G.]

Who limes well.

THE man of life vpright whose guiltles heart is free
From all dishonest deedes & thoughtes of Vanitye;
The man whose filent daies in harmeles ioyes ar spent
Whome hopes cannot delude nor sorrowes discontent.
That man needes neyther Tower, nor armor for defence
Nor secreet vault to fly from Thunder's violence.
But scorning all the chance y^t fate or fortune bringes
He makes the heauens his bookes, his wisedome heauenly thinges
Good thoughts his only friendes, his welth a well spent age,
The earth his sober Inne, and quiet Pilgrimage.

NOTE.

[See our collection of the Poems of Lord Bacon in *Miscellanies* of the Fuller Worthies' Library (vol. i. pp. 52-3), for the above well-known Verses by him, from a MS. in British Museum. G.]

Th' effects of loue.

THE lowest trees haue topps : y^e Ante her gall,
the fly his spleene, y^e little sparke his heate;
the slender haire cast shadowes though but small
and Bees haue stinges although they be not greate.
Seas haue their course & so haue shallowe springes,
and loue is loue in beggers & in kinges.

Where water[s] smootheft runn deepe ar y^e fordes,
the Diall sturres, yet none perceaues it moue ;
the firmeft loue is in y^e fewest wordes,
the turtles cannot finge & yet they loue.
True hartes haue eies & eares, no tounge to speake,
they heare & see & figh, and then they breake.

Ladye, since first my hart became yo^r thrall
fowre faultes there were y^t made you seeme vniust,
straunge in yo^r choice & coy to choose at all,
hard to beleue & easy to mistrust.
With these fowre faultes fowre vertues still did shine,
an angells face, sweete speeches, bewty, witt ;
W^{ch} makes me yours, though you ar never mine
and so fast yours y^t I shall never flitt.

Desire in y^e (my choice) letts my desire [hinders]
 and yet we both make shewe wee like & loue:
 so diuers ar y^e thinges y^t we require
 as goulde & droffe, as hell & heauen aboue:
 I craue yo^r felfe, but you desire such muck
 as matches make, but neuer bring good lucke.

They haue inough y^t ar content in minde,
 they want y^t haue & do not vse y^e fame;
 the churle wth greif doth leaue his goulde behinde
 W^{ch} strangers catch & spend it to his shame.
 Then be contente sweete loue & thou hast store
 of loue, & wealth, and what would'st thou haue more?

The loue I beare is such as hath no ende
 my faith is firme, desiring to deserue:
 my thoughtes continuall thinking on my frende,
 my hope y^t she from promise will not swarue;
 then fortune doe thy worst, I y^e defye
 loue, faith, thoughtes, hope ar fetled till I dye.

What thinge can please mine eye, but thy sweete face?
 what founde mine eare, but echo of thy name?
 where woulde I liue but only in y^t place
 where thou dost rest, y^t all my ioy must frame.
 my choice is made & heere I doe protest
 I do & will for euer loue the best.

Then let not worldly trash our harte diseauer
 Whome honest loue doth seeke to ioyne together.

The Conquest rare doth greateſt glory gaine,
the ſtrongest fortes by ſlowest wights are wone,
the hardest thinges atchiude wth greateſt paine,
do breede most ease when ſo y^e worke is done.
well labors he how ſo his time be ſpent
that for his paines doth reape his hartes content.

God knowes my harte & what I do deſire,
but what I ſeeke ſhall fewe or no man knowe ;
y^e nobler minde y^e higher doth aſpire
and for my parte I cannot ſtoope to lowe. [too]
Yet if I ſeeke to clime a ſtep to highe [too]
god faue y^e childe for if I fall I dye.

In high attemptes y^e bouldest blouds of all
do beſt preuaile when perill once is paſt ;
then liue or dye, or ſtande or flide or fall,
clime ſure I will, god fet my footing faſt.
And help me ſo to height of my deſire
as I do wiſh faue heau'ne to clime no higher.

NOTE.

[We have failed to trace the preceding anonymous Poems either in
print or in MS. elsewhere. G.]

A Reconciliation or Recantation.

WELCOME firme hope, welcome againe my loue,
 Welcome desire in y^e is peace & rest;
 eyes from her beautye see you ne're remoue
 but play wth fancy for it likes you best:
 Welcome affections, beautie's heauēly bowre,
 Vnder thy shadowe shall y^e winde refresh me;
 long hast thou taught me loue, none teach me powre
 to shun suspect & feare, y^t thus oppresse me.
 Then leade me throughe yo^r ever springing way
 of hope, whose sunnbright face will fancy moue
 and make y^e fringe of my harte's harpe to fay
 there is no heau'ne like to a woman's loue.

Wth cheerefull welcome doth my harte embrace the, [thee]
 disdaine begone, dispaire I must displace the.

A. B.

Yee all haue led me into error's way
Wth hope of y^t which now doth hopeles proue ;
Ye never more shall fo my hart betray
to fet my heav'ne vpon a w^oman's loue.

Farewell, begone, & in yo^r roome I'll place
disdaine in eyes, in harte dispaire of grace.

A. B.

NOTE.

[Could A. B. be SIR ANTHONY BACON? G.]

By y^e Earle of Oxforde.

WERE I a kinge I coulde comāunde content,
Were I obscure hidden shoulde be my cares,
or were I deade no cares shoulde me torment,
nor hopes, nor hates, nor loues nor greifes nor feares:
A doubtfull choice of these three w^{ch} to craue,
a Kingdom or a Cottage or a Graue.

Answered thus by Sr P. S.

WERT thou a Kinge, yet not comāunde content
 Seth Empire none thy minde could yet suffice :
 Wert thou obscure, still cares woulde y^e torment,
 but wert thou deade, all care & forrowe dies :
 An easy choice of these three w^h to craue
 No kingdome, nor a Cottage but a graue.

An other of another minde.

A KINGE (oh boone) for my aspiring minde,
 a Cottage makes a Country swadd reioyce, [swain]
 and as for death I like him in his kinde
 but god forbid y^t he should be my choice.

A kingdome, or a Cottage, or a graue
 nor last, nor next but first and best I craue :
 The rest I can when as I list inioy
 till then salute me thus, VIVE LE ROY.

F. M.

An other of an other minde.

THE greatest kinges do least comānde content
for greatest cares do still attende a Crowne ;
A graue all happy fortunes do prevent,
making y^e noble equall wth the clowne :
A quiet Country life to leade I craue,
a Cottage then, no Kingdome nor a graue.

NOTE.

[The Earl of Oxford is same as before ; see notes on Trial of Essex.
The Sir P. S. is Sidney. We include these trifles in our collection of
Oxford's Poems as before. There are other answers, but it is hardly
worth-while to print them. G.]

A Poem put into my Lad: Laiton's Pocket
by Sr W. Rawleigh.

LADY, farewell, whome I in silence serue!
Woulde god thou knewest y^e depth of my desire!
Then mought I wish, though nought I can deserue,
Some dropps of grace to flake my scalding fire;
But sith to liue alone I haue decreede,
I'le spare to speake y^t I may spare to speede.

NOTE.

[Letters of Administration on the Estate of Sir Edward Leighton, knt., of Wattlesburgh, co. Salop, were issued from the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 21st November, 1593, to his son Thomas Leighton, esq., with the consent of his relict Dame Elizabeth. She died in 1620. Probably this was "my Lad: Laiton" of these lines. These lines appear in Dr. Hannah's collection of Raleigh's Poems (*Courtly Poets*, p. 57). G.]

A Passion of my Lo: of Effex.

HAPPY were he, coulde finish forth his fate
In some vnhaunted desert, more obscure
From all society, from loue & hate
Of worldly folke ; there might he sleepe secure ;
There wake againe, & giue god euer praise,
Content wth hipps, & hawes, & Brambleberry ;
In contemplacion passing still his daies,
And chaunge of holy thoughts to make him merry ;
That when he dies his Tombe might be a bush
Where harmeles Robin dwelleth wth y^e thrush.

Per eundem.

INGENIUM, studium, num̄os, spem tempus amicos
Cum male perdiderim perdere verba leue est.

NOTE.

[These lines were included in a letter to Elizabeth, as *ante*. See our collection of Essex's Poems, as before. G.]

Sr Philip Sydney lying in his death-bed.

IT is not I y^t dy, I do but leaue an Inne
 where harboured was wth me all filthy kinde of sinne :
 It is not I y^t dy, I do but now begin
 into eternall ioyes by faith to enter in.
 Why mourne ye then my Parentes frindes & kin,
 Lament ye when I loose, why weepe ye when I win ?

NOTE.

[The word "Parentes" of line 5, betrays the non-Sidney authorship of these lines, seeing at the time of his death only one survived. G.]

[*Life-wearinefs.*]

WEARY of finn but not of finninge,
 striueinge to gaine, but neuer winninge,
 seekinge an end, wthout beginninge
 thus doe I leade my Life.

My wayes are pitfalls, fsmoothly hidden,
My paffions refty coult, vnridden,
My pafstymes, pleasures ftill forbidden,
my peace, is inwarde strife.

My meditation, thoughtes vnholly,
my refolution, yeeldinge folly,
my confcience, Sathan's monopolly,
Sinne doth my foule inherrit.

My penitence dothe ill perfeuer,
My faithe is fraile, hope constant neuer,
Yet this my comfort is for euer,
God faues not man for merrit.

[*Clergy.*]

I N elder times it was obfervèd, that
The clergymen were leane, their livings fatt :
But in our daies the cafe is altered cleane,
The clergymen ar fat, their livings leane.
I fearching founde this caufe the change to breede,
They now feede fatt, but then did fatt & feede.

*Epigrammes.**In Baldū. 1.*

BALDUS did never sweare since he was borne,
 Yet at each word he faith he wilbe sworne :
 A faulte thou gettest, whilst yo^u fault woldst flie,
 for Baldus when thou swearst not, thou dost lye.

In Chus. 2.

Chus doth soe often to the Doctōr goe
 to know whether he be in healthe or noe,
 that shortely if his frend chaunce to pafs by
 And aske him how he doth, in cortesie,
 he will not answere him a poynte so nice
 Vntill he hath had his Doctō^{rs} advice.

In Brillū. 3.

Doe but marke Brillus, his acquaintaunce well,
 and you shall see they all good clothes doe weare :
 a faire suite hath a good witt he can tell,
 then are his Clothes wiser then he I feare.
 Looke what he hath on : no, looke what he hath in,
 An Asse is an Asse in a Lyon's skinne.

In Goll. 4.

Goll cald to see a frend as he did passe
 and all the while stood lookinge in a glasse

to see his freind : let that his arrant be ;
I rather thinke he came him selfe to see.

Chaucer's Jest. 5.

I iape for iest old Jeffrey Chaucer vsed
Ladies saie nowe the fence men chawⁿge and wrest ;
Ladies mistake : the worde is not abused
for iaping still is counted but a iest.

In Charam. 6.

Chara half angry wth my bawdie songe
Streighte tould her husband she had done wth me
fye Chara : I wold suffer much more wronge
eare I wold tell what I had done wth the.⁶ [thee]

In Hyrum. 7.

Hyrus entreates me to comend him to his frend,
and I knowe nothinge in him that I can comend.

In Mathonem. 8.

Mathon, the dauncer wth the maple face,
intreated was to revell in a maske ;
wherefore vnto a shop he hies apace
and for a vizard speedilie did aske :
the shop was hunge wth glassses, and each side
(quoth he) in hast, this vizard howe doest sell ?
takinge his face w^{ch} in a glasse he spide
for a true vizard : the shopp's boy laughed well :
thus Mathon maskinge needes noe vizard beare,
Who for a face a vizard still doth weare.

In eundem. 9.

Mathon hath got the barr and many graces
by studdyinge, noble men, newes, and faces.

⁶ [There is the contemporary naughty equivoque on "done." G.]

*Epigrammes.**In eundem. 10.*

Mathon doth all his Epigrammes compare
 to suites w^{ch} those in Birchin lane doe make ;
 for none but whome they fitt they alwaies are
 and such as please them for there owne to take.
 But Mathon, thou dost knowe this to be plaine
 that botchers worke so often is refused,
 that for to procure them owte themselves are faine
 and that's a shifte, w^{ch} for good thrift is vsed :
 Beleve me Mathon when I speake the truth
 the stuff is made foe yll, it will not sell :
 none takes thy Epigrams : what then ensueth
 faith weare them owte thy self, they fitt the well. [thee]

In eundem. 11.

Mathon why sholdst thou thincke o^r Comon Lawe
 none can into an ordered method drawe
 Since thy rude feete, whose gate confusion wrought
 weare by greate paynes to ordered dauncinge brought.

In Frisiam. 12.

Frisia faies faine she wold be ridd of me
 and on that scorne she taketh wondrous pride :
 (Frisia) harke hether what I say to the [thee]
 thou arte to ranck a Jade for me to ryde. [too]

In Arnem. 13.

Kinde Arna to her husband kift thes wordes,
 myne owne sweet Will, howe well I doe love the; [thee]
 if true thinkes he, the world noe such affordes
 and that 'tis true I dare his warrant bee.
 ffor never hard I of a woman good or ill
 but allwayes loved best her owne sweete will.

In Valuum. 14.

To weare a weapon is not Valuus' vse
for him that dares not fighte, a good excuse.

In Gildum. 15.

Gildus at feastes doth talke, and carve, and call
at every word Sr, will you haue this bitt?
when he him self a bitt wantes most of all,
to bridle his pratinge tounge that speakes noe witt.

In Combū Contradictorem. 16.

I say that Combū is both learn'd and wise
for what foeare I say he still denyes.

In eundem.

Combū of any thinge dares bouldly speake
that may by learninge, skill or witt be gott;
like a blude horfe that dares his necke to breake,
downe any ditch, because he fees it not.

In Celsum Medicum. 17.

ffye vppon o^r complementes, theie are to bad: [too]
Celsus the phisicon meetes his freind
and saies that of his health he is most gladd
when he wold haue him sicke; for him to send
this greetinge Celsus, is full of suspicion:
It cannot be harty in a Phisicon.

In Norgum. 18.

Mistakinge braines praise Norgus' witt for greate
because great store of iestes he can repeate
When tis his memory deserveth most
for hoardinge vp what witty men haue lost.
And who knowes not that thes two allwayes hitt
a greate memorye and a little witt.

In eundem.

Norgus, all women courtes in this one fashion
 Wth tellinge tales, and ieaftes, and readinge Bookes ;
 in others' wordes he speakes his feelinge passion,
 nothinge his owne but fighes, kift handes and lookes.
 Though thou bewray much want by this hard shifte
 yet therein Norgus I comend wife thrifte ;
 In others witt, thou dost bestowe thy larges
 bicause that in thine owne tho^u maist faue charges.

A Description of Spongius the Gallant.

Spongius is accounted a brave gallant,
 a tall man, of greate spirite, and valyant ;
 for he can borrowe, pawne, hoore, game, fwere, crake,
 take vp comodities, stabbe for the lye,
 quarrell by booke, p^{'te} streete frayes, reskewes make ;
 he hath killed a man, and is growne proud thereby.

He playes at Primero over the stage,
 fighte for the wall, and keepes a lac^{'te} Cloke page ;
 Ryde through the streetes in glisteringe braverie
 and swallowes not the least indignitie.

ffor since he had by chaunce some blind fold luck
 in two or thre odd fwaggeringe des^{'pate} brawles,
 none can this highe opinion from him pluck,
 but fortunate rashnes, he valo^r calls.

When he a Costlie suite hath made, he goes
 to every Ordinarie and friend he knowes ;
 foe in one weeke himself to all he shoves,
 thus for a tyme his time he still bestowes.

Vntill at lengthe the tyme is come to paye
 for his newe clothes ; a broker then he fendes

to arreft the fuite, and in prifon laye
where paff redemp'tion his lyfe it endes.

His grave difcourfe is all of houres and playes [whores]
Of Baftinadoes, Rapiers and difgraces ;
talkes of him felf and of his tall 'fought frayes
or how he is eſteemèd in beſt places.

And for the pox he makes Apologies,
ſweares that the blood it ſtraungly purifies ;
cauſeth freſh looke, cleane ſkinne, and p'fect hewe
as free from ill as one half borne anewe :

This is the fame that's thought ſo brave a gallant
A tall man of greate ſpiritt and valiant.⁷

The deſcription of Limbrus.

Limbrus mongſt many women is reputed
a rare fyne gent, of greate good p'tes ;
and I haue often wth my ſelf diſputed
howe he hathe ſneakte that likinge to there hartes.

ffor this is all that I finde in the man :
put of his hat full mannerly he can, [off]
and kiſſe his hand, and make a handſome legge,
offer ſervice, p'teſt and favo^{rs} begge.

Yet this he doth not by occaſion ledd
but in ſett phraſes generall and large :
by ſtill ſtill, yfinge readie in his heade
he doth his threede bare Complem^{tes} diſcharge.

well furniſhte for a weeke — he is noe more —
wth wordes of courſe and ſtorie half a ſcore :

⁷ [“Nere” written but erased, and “tall” placed above. G.]

But when he emptied is of that poore store
he speaketh onely what he spoke before.

well Limbrus, for thy owteside fake and face
thow maist p'cure a Somer loves warme place
But sure when that half yeare is spent and past
thou wilt want Lynynge Wint^{er} to owte last.

NOTE.

[These Epigrams and satire Verses have terms and words that remind us of SIR JOHN DAVIES and JOHN HUTTON ; but must remain anonymous until some lucky accident reveals the authorship. We suspect that in some Sir John Davies is himself hit. G.]

[*Satire.*]

MARRYE & loue thy Flavia, for she
Hath all thinges, where wth others beautilous be ;
For though her eyes be small, her mouth is greate ;
Though they be snowye, yet her teeth are ieatt ; [jet]
Though they be dimme, yet she is light inough,
And though her harsh hayre fall, her skin is rough ;
What though her cheekes be yellow, her haire is redd,
Giue her thine, she hath a maiden-heade.
These thinges ar beautie's elimentes ; where these
Meete in one, that one must as perfit, please.

If white & red & each good quality
 be in thy wench, nere aske where it doth ly :
 Though all her partes be not in the vsed place,
 She hath yet an anagram of a good face.
 If we might put y^e letters but one way,
 in y^t leane dearth of wordes, what coulede we say ?
 When by y^e gammot, the musitians make
 A perfit songe, others will vndertake
 By y^e fame gammot changed to equall it.
 Thinges simply good can neuer be unfit ;
 She is as faire as any, if all be like her,
 And if none be, then is she singular.
 All loue is wonder ; if we iustly doe
 accompt her wonderfull, why not loue her toe ? [too]
 Loue built on beauty, soone as beauty, dies :
 Chuse this faire, changde by no deformities.
 Women ar all like angels ; the good be
 Like those y^t fell to worse ; but such as she,
 like to good angels, nothing can impaire :
 Tis lesse greife to be foule then to haue bin faire.
 For one nightes reuels, filke & gould we chuse.
 But in longe iourneis cloth & lether vse.
 Beauty is barren off ; best husbands say
 Ther is best land wher ther is foulest way.
 O what a foveraine plaister will she be,
 If thy past sinnes haue taught y^e iealousy !
 Here neede no spies, no eunackes, her comit
 safe to thy foes, yea to a marmoit.
 When Belgias citties the rounde countries droune,
 That dirty foulenes gardes & armes y^e towne ;
 So doth her face garde her, & so for the [thee]
 Which forced by busines oft must absent be.
 She whose face turnes (like cloudes) y^e day to night,
 Who (mightier then y^e Sun) makes Moores seeme white ;

Whome, though seauen yeeres she in y^e stewes had laide,
 A nunnery durst sweare she were a maide.
 And though in childbed labour she did lye,
 Midwiues woulde sweare 'twere but a timpany ;
 Whome, if she accuse her selfe, I credit lesse
 Then witches, w^{ch} impossibles confesse.
 Whome dildoes, bedstaues, & y^e veluet glasse
 Woulde be as loath to touch as Joseph was.
 One like none, nor like of none, fittest were
 For things in fashion every man will weare.

NOTE.

[By Dr. Donne. Consult our edition of his complete Poems (2 vols. 1872-73, vol. i. pp. 169-70), where will be found full annotations. G.]

[*To a Poet.*]

ALL haile sweete Poet, full of more stronge fire,
 Then hath, or shall enkindle any spirit,
 I loued what nature gaue the ; but this merit [thee]
 Of witt & art, I loue not but admire ;
 Who haue before, or shall write after the, [thee]
 Their workes (though roughly labourèd) will be
 Like infancy, or age to man's firme stay,
 Or early or late twilight to mid-day.

Men say, & truly, y^t they better be
That be envied then pitied: therefore I,
Because I wish y^e best do the envye: [thee]
Or wouldest thou by like reason pittie me,
But care not for me, I y^t euer was
In nature, & in fortune's giftes (alas
Before thy grace got in y^e muses schole
A monfter & a beggar) am now a foole.
O how I grieve y^t late-borne modesty
Hath got such roote in easy waxen hartes,
That men may not themselues, their owne good p'tes
Extoll, wthout suspect of susquedry.
For, but thy selfe, no subiect can be founde
Worthy thy quill; nor any quill resounde
Thy worth but thine: how good it were to see
A poem in thy praise, & writ by thee.
Now if this songe be to harsh for verse; yet as [too]
The paintere's bad god made a good diuell,
Twill be good profe though y^e verse be euill.
If thou forget y^e rime as thou dost pas
Then write, y^t I may follow & so be
Thy debtor, thy eccho, thy foyle, thy zany.
I shall be thought if mine like thine I shape
All y^e worlde's Lyon, though I be thy ape.

NOTE.

[By DR. DONNE, being addressed to "M. I. W." in his Poems. See our edition in the place. G.]

[*To a Lady.*]

WHY dost thou deare affect thy viol fo?
 And let thy loue forlorne, wth anguish go.
 Thou't kindly fet him on thy lap, imbrace
 And almost kis, while I must voide y^e place.
 Thou't string him truly, tune him sweetely, when
 Thou't wrest me owt of tune & crack me then.
 Thou't stop his frets, but set no date to mine,
 Thou't giue what ere he wants, but let me pine.
 Thou knowest him hollow-harted, yet wilt heare
 Him throughout wth an attentiu eare.
 And sing him such a pleasing lullaby
 Would charme hel's churlish porter's watchfull eye
 Keping true time wth him, as true may be.
 But finde no time to kepe y^e true to me.
 Deare as y^e instrument, woulde I were thine
 That thou might play on me, or thou wert mine.

NOTE.

[Placed as this is among others preceding and following by DR. DONNE—all like it anonymous—it seems very certain that it too belongs to him. Accordingly the present editor has included this piece so marked by the characteristics of DONNE, among his Poems, as before. At the bottom of the page is written as a variant of the last line “that I might play on the [thee].” G.]

[*A Valediction forbidding Mourning.*]

AS vertuous men passe mildely away
And whisper to their soules to go,
While some of their sad friendes do say
Now his breath partes, & some say, no.

So let vs pt, & make no noife
No teare-floudes, nor sigh-tempests moue;
Twere profanation of our ioyes
To tell y^e Layety of our loue.

Movinges of y^e earth cause harmes & feares
Men reckon what it did & ment,
But trepidation[s] of y^e spheares
Though greater farre ar innocent.

Dull sublunary louers' loue
Whose soule is fence, cannot admitte
Absence, because it doth remoue
Those things y^t elemented it.

But we by a loue so much refine,
As our selues know not what it is,
Interaffured of y^e minde
Care lesse eyes, handes, & lippes to misse.

Our two foules then w^{ch} ar but one
 Though I must go, indure not yet
 A breach, but an expansion,
 As gould to ayery thinnes beate. [thinness]

If we be two, we be two so
 As stiffe-twinde compasses ar two ;
 Thy foule the fixt foote, makes no show
 To moue, yet doth if the other do.

And though it in y^e center fit,
 The while the other farre doth roame,
 It leaues and hearkens after it
 And growes erect as that comes home.

Such wilt thou be to me, who must
 Like the other foote obliquely runne;
 Thy firmenes make my circle iust
 And makes me ende where I begun.

NOTE.

[By Donne ; see our edition, as before. G.]

To a curious Lady.

STILL to be neate, still to be drest
As you were going to a feast ;
Still to be poulderde, still perfumde
Lady, it is to be prefumde,
If arte's hid causes were but founde
All is not sweete, all is not founde.

Give me a forme, give me a face,
That makes simplicity a grace,
Roabes loofely flowing, haire as free ;
Such sweete neglects, more taketh me
Then all the adulteries vsde in art,
These strike mine eyes, but not mine hart.

NOTE.

[Song from BEN JONSON'S *Epicene*, act i. sc. i. (1609, 4to.) G.]

[*The Lie.*]

1 **G**O, foule, the bodie's guest
 Vpon a thankles arrant :
 feare not to touch y^e best ;
 the truth shalbe thy warrant :
 Go since I needes must dye,
 and giue them all the lye.

2 Say to the Court, it glowes
 and shines like rotten woode ;
 say to the church, it shoes
 whats good, but doth no good :
 If Court & church reply,
 then giue them both the ly.

3 Tell Potentates, they liue
 acting but others actions ;
 not loued vnles they giue,
 not stronge but by a faction :
 If Potentates replye,
 giue potentates the lye.

4 Tell men of high condition,
 that rules affaires of state,

their purpose is ambition,
their practise only hate :
and if they once replye,
then giue them all the lye.

5 Tell those y^t braue it most,
they begge for more by spending,
who in their greatest cost,
seeke nothing but comēding :
and if they make replye,
then giue them all the lye.

6 Tell Zeale it wants deuotion ;
tell Loue it is but Lust ;
tell Time it is but motion ;
tell flesh it is but dust :
and with them not reply,
for thou must giue the lye.

7 Tell age it dayly wasteth ;
tell honour how it alters ;
tell beauty how she blasteth ;
tell fauour that it faulders :
and as they shall reply,
giue euery one the lye.

8 Tell Witte how much it wrangles
in tickle pointes of niceness ;
tell Wisedome she intangles
her selfe in ouer-wisenes :
and when they do replye,
straight giue them both the lye.

- 9 Tell Phisicke of her bouldnes;
 tell skill it is preuention;
 tell charity of coldnes;
 tell lawe it is contention:
 and as they do replye,
 fo giue them still the lye.
- 10 Tell Fortune of her blindnes;
 tell friendshippe of vnkindnes;
 tell nature of decay;
 tell iustice of delay:
 and if they do reply,
 then giue them all the lye.
- 11 Tell artes they haue no foundnes,
 but vary by esteeming;
 tell schooles they lack profoundnes,
 and stand to much on feeming: [too]
 if artes and schooles reply,
 giue artes and f[c]hooles the lye.
- 12 Tell faith its fled the Cytye;
 tell how the country erreth;
 tell manhooode shakes for pitye;
 tell Vertue least preferreth:
 and if they do reply,
 spare not to giue the ly.
- 13 Tell London of her stewes
 and cytizens of vfury;
 and though it be no newes,
 tell courtezans of lechery:
 and if they do replye,
 they best deferue the lye.

14 So when thou haft (as I
comanded the) done blabbing,— [thee]
although to giue the lye
deferues no lesse then stabbing,—
ftab at the lie y^t will,
no ftab thy foule can kill.

Wa. Raleigh.

NOTE.

[See our *Introduction* for the importance of the present and next related Poem; and for account of a much earlier MS. of the former, viz., Raleigh's Poem,—the gem of the present Chetham MS., as first pointed out by Dr. Hannah (as before). We regard the Raleigh authorship of this fine Poem as so important that we have given fac-similes of the closing stanzas of the above, and of the Raleigh-allusion stanza in the next, for frontispiece. G.]

[*Reply.*]

GO, Eccho of the minde,
 a careles troth protest;
 make answere y^t rude Rawly
 no stomack can digest:

for why? the lie's discent
 is over bafe to tell;
 to vs it came from Italy;
 to them it came from hell.

What reafon proues, confesse;
 What slander faith, denye:
 Let no vntruth wth triumph paffe;
 but neuer giue the lye.

confesse, in glittering court
 all ar not goulde that shine;
 yet fay one pearle, & much fine gould
 growes in y^e Prince's minde.

confesse y^t many leaues
 do overgrowe the grounde;
 yet fay, wthin the fielde of God
 good corne is to be founde.

confesse, fom iudge vniust,
the widowe's right delay;
yet say there ar some Samuels
that never say her nay.

admitte, some man of state
do pitch his thoughtes to hie;
is y^t a rule for all the rest,
their loyall hartes to trie?

[too]

your wittes ar in the waine;
your autumnne in the bud;
you argue from p'ticulers;
your reason is not good.

and still y^t men may see
lesse reason to comend you,
I marvaile most, amongst y^e rest,
how schooles & artes offende you:

but whie pursue I thus
the witleffe wordes of winde?
the more the crab doth seeke to creepe,
the more she is behinde.

in church & comon wealth
in court & country both;
what! nothing good? but all to bad
that every man doth loath?

[too]

The further y^t you raunge,
your errour is the wider;
the bee sometimes doth hony suck,
but sure you ar a spider!

and so my counsaile is,
for that you want a name,
to seeke some corner in the darke
to hide your self from shame.

there wrapp the fely flye
Wthin your spitefull webbe;
both church & court may want you well;
they ar not at such ebbe.

as quarrels once begun
ar not so quickly ended,
so many faultes may foone be founde,
but not so foone amended :

and when ye come againe
to giue the worlde the lye,
I pray you tell them how to liue,
and teach them how to dye.

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